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COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

EDITED BY

CLEMENT LAWRENCE SMITH AND TRACY PECK

TACITUS, *DIALOGVS DE ORATORIBVS*

BENNETT

COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

TACITUS, Cornelius

DIALOGVS DE ORATORIBVS

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDEXES

BY

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BOSTON, U.S.A., AND LONDON
GINN & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
1894

Entered at Stationers' Hall

PREFACE.

In 1891 the editors-in-chief of the College Series asked me to prepare for publication the manuscript notes on the *Dialogus* left by the late Professor Lucius Heritage of the University of Wisconsin. I acceded to their request, expecting that my task would consist mainly in clerical revision. An examination of Mr. Heritage's manuscript, however, showed that his edition differed materially in scope from the other books of the series; moreover, since its preparation in 1883–84, the progress of critical study on the *Dialogus* had been unusually rapid. Under these circumstances it seemed necessary to recast the work entirely, and I accordingly did so.

In the execution of this task I have received important help from Professor Alfred Gudeman of the University of Pennsylvania, who generously put at my disposal the exhaustive materials of his forthcoming edition of the *Dialogus*, and who has also assisted me freely in other ways.

To Professor Peck and Professor Smith I am greatly indebted for many valuable suggestions on the matter of the notes and Introduction.

Professor Geo. L. Hendrickson of the University of Wisconsin, and my colleague, Professor H. C. Elmer, have also kindly given me the benefit of their criticism.

C. E. B.

MARCH 26, 1894.

INTRODUCTION.

I. AUTHORSHIP OF THE DIALOGUS.

As compared with the admitted works of Tacitus (the *Agricola*, *Germania*, *Histories*, and *Annals*), the *Dialogus* unquestionably exhibits marked differences of language and style. This circumstance led scholars, as early as the time of Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547), to question the manuscript testimony as to the Tacitean authorship of the piece. Rhenanus in spite of his suspicions published the *Dialogus* (1519) under Tacitus's name, but Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), in his edition published at Antwerp in 1574, influenced by certain resemblances to the *Institutio Oratoria*, boldly ascribed the work to Quintilian and published it under the title : *Fabii Quintiliani, ut videtur, Dialogus, Cornelio Tacito falso inscriptus.* In his third edition, however, published in 1585, Lipsius confessed his doubts as to the propriety of ascribing the work to Quintilian, maintaining nevertheless as stoutly as ever that Tacitus could not be the author.

Since Lipsius first launched the controversy upon the learned world, over three hundred years ago, the question of the authorship of the *Dialogus* has been an almost constant subject of discussion. Lipsius's immediate successors adopted in general his view as to the non-Tacitean authorship of the piece. Some went further and attributed it to Pliny the Younger, to Maternus, or even to Suetonius ; while others adopted Lipsius's earlier view and ascribed the work to Quintilian. Defenders of the Tacitean author-

ship were rare for over two hundred years after Lipsius's third edition. It was not until the beginning of the present century that a decided reaction set in in favor of Tacitus. Since that time the evidence that the *Dialogus* is his work has gradually been more and more fully presented, and more and more generally accepted as valid. Few scholars to-day deny Tacitus's title to the authorship.

The grounds on which the Tacitean authorship rests are as follows: —

1. The MSS. attribute the work to Tacitus. When we consider that the *Dialogus* is found almost exclusively in MSS. which contain the *Germania* also, it will be seen that the weight of this argument is considerable.

2. Although in general the contrast in diction and style between the *Dialogus* and the acknowledged writings of Tacitus is great, yet a careful examination reveals striking evidences of a common authorship, and even enables us to trace the genetic development of Tacitus's style from the *Dialogus* (his earliest work) to the *Annals* (his latest). Thus: —

a. IN DICTION.

1. We find several words and phrases which occur nowhere else in prose writers of this period except in the *Dialogus* and the acknowledged works of Tacitus, *e. g.*: —

histrionalis (*Dial.* 26. 3; 29. 3; *Ann.* I. 16. 4).
audentius (*Dial.* 18. 2; *Hist.* I. 79. 1; II. 78. 1; *Ann.* IV. 47. 2; 68. 5).
clientulus (*Dial.* 37. 1; *Ann.* XII. 36. 3).
modo . . . nunc, for *modo . . . modo* or *nunc . . . nunc* (*Dial.* 3. 4; *Hist.* II. 51. 1; III. 85. 1).
cura, 'literary production, book' (*Dial.* 6. 7; *Ann.* III. 24. 4; IV. 11. 5).
proeliator (*Dial.* 37. 9; *Ann.* II. 73. 3).

2. A number of words and phrases employed by Tacitus in peculiar meanings are found also in the *Dialogus* with the same meanings, *e. g.:*—

auditus, 'heard of' (*Dial.* 7. 5; *Agr.* 43; *Germ.* 37).
anni colliguntur (*Dial.* 17. 3; *Ger.* 37).
donec, 'as long as' (*Dial.* 8. 5; *Hist.* I. 13. 5).
exuberare, figuratively (*Dial.* 30. 7; *Ann.* XIV. 53. 6).
ingenium, 'man of genius' (*Dial.* 2. 1; *Hist.* I. 1. 1).
mereri, 'win, acquire' (*Dial.* 9. 9; *Hist.* II. 31. 1).
quandoque = *quandocumque* (*Dial.* 13. 7; *Ann.* I. 6. 2).
quatenus, 'since' (*Dial.* 5. 3; *Ann.* III. 16. 5).
sicut . . . ita, for *ut . . . ita* (*Dial.* 6. 7; *Agr.* 2).
tamquam = *quod* (*Dial.* 2. 1; *Ann.* XII. 39. 4).
ut sic dixerim, = *ut ita dicam* (*Dial.* 40. 5; *Ann.* XIV. 53. 4).

3. Many favorite words of Tacitus — particularly words of a poetic coloring — occur also in the *Dialogus*, *e. g.:*— *accinctus*, *adfluens*, *claresco*, *contactus*, *incalesco*, *incitamentum*, *inconditus*, *increpo*, *innotesco*, *instinctus*, *nobilitatus*, *oblectamentum*, *obtrectatio*, *praeposterus*, *pravitates*, *proceres*, *vanesco*.

4. Many phrases characteristic of Tacitus occur also in the *Dialogus*, *e. g.:*—

ardor iuvenilis
aurum et gemmae
caementum et tegulae
gratia subnixus
in ore vulgi (*hominum*) *agere*
in confesso est, *in aperto est*, etc.
comitatus et egressus
et ipse
exactus dies (= *confectus dies*)
famam circumdare
inauditus et indefensus
meditata oratio
et nullus, for *nec ullus*
rudis et informis

b. IN SYNTAX we find many points of resemblance. Thus the following constructions are characteristic both of the *Dialogus* and the undisputed works of Tacitus:—

1. Indicative :—
   1) *Postquam* with the pluperfect indicative.
   2) *Sunt qui* with the indicative.
   3) *Dum* with the present indicative in indirect discourse.
2. Subjunctive :—
   1) *Quamvis* with the subjunctive to denote a fact.
   2) A subjunctive *dum*-clause subordinated to a subjunctive *cum*-clause.
   3) A subjunctive *si*-clause subordinated to a future participle.
3. Infinitive :—

   As subject of *datur*, *dabatur*, etc.
4. Participles :—
   1) The extremely free use of the present active participle as a noun of agency. See p. xx.
   2) The future active participle equivalent to a subordinate clause. See p. xxi.
   3) Idiomatic use of the gerundive in expressions of the type *haec spectanda habemus*, 'we have these things to behold.'
5. The Cases :—
   1) Frequent use of the dative of agency with passive verbs.
   2) Accusative with *inrumpo*.
   3) The phrase *pensi habere*.
   4) *In quantum*, *in tantum* for *quantum*, *tantum*.
6. Particles :—
   1) *Igitur* regularly at the beginning of the sentence.
   2) *Quin immo* post-positive.
   3) *Quo minus* freely used instead of *quin* after negative expressions.

4) *Neque* used instead of *ne*, *neve* to introduce the optative and hortatory subjunctive.
5) *Que* used epexegetically, — a rare idiom.

c. IN STYLE the following points of agreement are to be noted: —

1) Free use of the plural of abstract nouns. For examples see p. xix.
2) Fondness for alliteration. See p. xxii.
3) Fondness for the figurative use of military terms.
4) Frequent use of anaphora. See p. xxiii.
5) Fondness for grouping synonymous words and expressions. See p. xxii.

3. The subject matter of the *Dialogus* reveals also the same intellectual and moral attitude on the part of the writer as the recognized works of Tacitus. Thus: —

a. We find frequent epigrammatic characterizations of human nature, *e.g.*: — 8. 7 *divitiae et opes, quas facilius invenies qui vituperet quam qui fastidiat;* 18. 4 *vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio esse.* With these compare *Agr.* 42 *proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris; Hist.* I. 55 *insita mortalibus natura, propere sequi quae piget incohare.*

b. In *Dial.* 12. 4 we have the following picture of the social conditions of primitive society: *felix illud et aureum saeculum et oratorum inops poetis et vatibus abundabat, qui bene facta canerent, non qui male admissa defenderent.* With this compare *Ann.* III. 26 *vetustissimi mortalium, nulla adhuc mala libidine, sine probro scelere, eoque sine poena aut coercitionibus agebant. Neque praemiis opus erat, cum honesta suopte ingenio peterentur; et ubi nihil contra morem cuperent, nihil per metum vetabantur.*

c. In *Dial.* 28–30 the writer touches upon the important part formerly played by the mother in the training of children, and with this decaying custom contrasts the existing conditions by which children were often handed over to nurses and worthless servants: 28. 5 *non in cella emptae nutricis, sed in gremio ac sinu matris educabatur;* 29. 1 *at nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae, cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis, plerumque vilissimus.* With these passages compare the following, where the similarity of language as well as of thought is particularly striking: *Agr.* 4 *mater Iulia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis. In huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adulescentiamque transegit; Ger.* 20 *sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis aut nutricibus delegantur.*

d. The characterizations of public men in the *Dialogus* agree with the characterizations of the same men as found in the *Histories* and *Annals.* Thus in *Dial.* 5. 7 Eprius Marcellus is *accinctus et minax;* in *Ann.* XVI. 29 *torvus ac minax; Hist.* IV. 43 *minacibus oculis.* So also like judgments are expressed concerning Vatinius in *Dial.* 11 and *Ann.* XV. 34; concerning Pomponius Secundus in *Dial.* 13. 4 and *Ann.* XII. 28; concerning Vipstanus Messalla in *Dial.* 15 and *Hist.* IV. 42; while the full account given in *Hist.* IV. 43 of the conflict in the Senate between Helvidius Priscus and Eprius Marcellus reads like an amplification of the allusion to the same event found in *Dial.* 5.

e. It is a striking peculiarity of the *Dialogus* and *Annals* that they both reckon the beginning of Augustus's reign from his first consulship in 43 B.C., and not from the battle of Actium, or from his assumption of the title Augustus, as do other writers.

The above evidence may be briefly summarized as follows : The MSS. are unanimous in ascribing the work to Tacitus ; a comparison of diction, syntax, and style shows a number of striking resemblances that can hardly be fortuitous ; while the general point of view of the writer of the *Dialogus* and of the works admitted to have been written by Tacitus, is the same. Moreover, nothing inconsistent with the Tacitean authorship of the *Dialogus* can be advanced beyond the discrepancy of style. Both the dramatic date of the dialogue itself and the probable date of composition and publication tally perfectly with what we know of Tacitus. Under these circumstances we may safely accept the view that Tacitus was the author.

As regards the difference in style between the *Dialogus* and Tacitus's later works we must consider not only the difference in subject matter, but also the difference in time of composition. The most probable date for the composition and publication of the *Dialogus* is 81 A.D. From then until the publication of the *Annals* in 115–117 A.D. was a period of over thirty years. Between the *Dialogus* and the *Agricola* (98 A.D.) seventeen years elapsed. Moreover the period intervening between the composition of the two works was occupied by the reign of Domitian, the baneful character of which had made the deepest impression upon Tacitus. Cf. *Agr.* 1 f. Under these circumstances, and after so great a lapse of time, his style may well have taken on a different character. Nor are such differences without parallel in other writers. A similar development is noticeable in Carlyle, and the difference between his *Life of Schiller* and his *Frederick the Great* has been aptly compared with that between the *Dialogus* and the *Annals*.

II. DRAMATIC DATE OF THE DIALOGUE.

The time when the dialogue is represented as taking place, was the latter half of 74 or the first half of 75 A.D. This we gather from 17. 3, where one of the speakers refers to the *sextam iam felicis huius principatus stationem quo Vespasianus rem publicam fovet*, *i.e.*, the sixth year of Vespasian's happy reign. Vespasian was proclaimed Emperor at Alexandria upon the 1st of July, 69 A.D. Hence the sixth year of his reign would fall between July 1, 74 and July 1, 75. This accords also with the epithet which Tacitus applies to himself at the time of the dialogue, *iuvenis admodum* (1. 1). This expression in contemporary writers designates an age somewhere in the vicinity of twenty, varying from the eighteenth to the twenty-third year, which agrees perfectly with the age of Tacitus at the time of the dialogue. For he was probably born in 55 or 56 A.D., and would accordingly have been eighteen at the youngest, at the oldest not more than twenty. Further confirmation of the date of the discussion is found in the reference in chapter 37 of the *Dialogus* to Mucianus, the well-known supporter of Vespasian, who is mentioned as actively engaged in collecting materials for an historical work which he had projected. But Mucianus was probably no longer alive in 77, so that the discussion must have taken place before that date.

III. DATE OF COMPOSITION AND PUBLICATION.

It is more difficult to determine when the *Dialogus* was composed and published. From the reference of the author to himself as *iuvenis admodum* at the time of the discussion, it is quite evident that some little time must have elapsed between the discussion itself and the composition of the piece. If we assume publication to have followed com-

position immediately, we can hardly place the composition after 81 A.D., the beginning of Domitian's reign, since the contents of the work make it extremely doubtful whether its author would have ventured upon publication under that emperor. The close of Domitian's reign, 96 A.D., would, on the other hand, be out of the question, as it assumes the extraordinary interval of twenty-one or twenty-two years between the discussion and the composition. Moreover it brings the *Dialogus* within two years of the *Agricola* (98 A.D.), and makes it impossible to account for the striking difference of style between these two productions. It therefore seems best to refer the composition of the *Dialogus* to the closing year of Titus's reign, 81 A.D., seven years after the date of the discussion which it records. It has been objected that this interval does not justify the use of the expression *iuvenis admodum* as applied by the author to himself in chapter 1. But if Tacitus was eighteen at the time of the discussion, he was twenty-five when he wrote the *Dialogus*. Moreover the intervening period had been an eventful one for him. He had held various public offices, and in 78 A.D. he had married the daughter of Agricola. It is easy to understand, therefore, that the maturity he had acquired in the interim thoroughly justified him in referring to himself seven years previously as *iuvenis admodum*.

IV. THE INTERLOCUTORS.

The participants in the discussion are four in number, Marcus Aper, Julius Secundus, Vipstanus Messalla, and Curiatius Maternus. The scene is laid at the house of Maternus.

MARCUS APER was born in Gaul (cf. 10. 3 *ne quid de Gallis nostris loquar*), but had early come to Rome. Here he devoted himself zealously to the study of eloquence, and

acquired fame as an orator and advocate, rising successively to the offices of quaestor, tribune, and praetor. In the *Dialogus* he appears in a double rôle. Against Maternus he defends the attractions of his chosen profession as compared with those of poetry, while against Messalla he defends the claims of contemporary oratory as compared with that of earlier days. In style he is represented as bold, enthusiastic, prone to exaggeration, and inclined to rely upon his natural endowments rather than upon profundity of learning. Occasionally he stoops to sophistry, as in his remarks upon the meaning of the term *antiquus* in ch. 16 ff. In a word he represents the practical and useful, his general attitude being well embodied in his own language (5. 5), *ad utilitatem vitae omnia consilia factaque nostra dirigenda sunt.*

JULIUS SECUNDUS, like Aper, was born in Gaul, and like him had come to Rome and devoted himself to oratory. In other respects the two men present the strongest contrast. Secundus was modest and retiring ; he lacked Aper's aggressiveness, and apparently never held public office. As a speaker he was deficient in fire and spontaneity, and was distinguished rather for the purity of his diction and the polish of his style. Hence many criticised him as lacking in *promptus sermo* (2. 3), and even his friend Quintilian, who speaks of him as *mirae facundiae virum*, nevertheless expresses regret that he was not *multo magis pugnax*. Secundus's forte evidently was composition rather than delivery. Hence he had naturally devoted himself to historical writing, and had already won favorable comment for his *Life of Julius Africanus* (14. 5). Quite consistent too with this is the tone of chapters 36–40. 1, which are best referred to Secundus. This entire passage, with its historical detail and references to sources, exactly fits the character of the historian Secundus.

Vipstanus Messalla was a born Roman and a descendant of one of Rome's most illustrious families. He was soldier, historian, and orator, winning his greatest successes in the last-named field. His general position was one of admiration for the past. He laments the prevailing negligence on the part of parents in the education of the young, has no sympathy with the schools of rhetoric, in which the orator now gets his training for a forensic career, and deplores the decline of taste, simplicity, and purity of style, which have affected contemporary oratory.

Curiatius Maternus was also probably a Gaul by birth and, like his countrymen, Aper and Secundus, had first devoted himself to a forensic career. With this pursuit he had combined poetry, and had already written several tragedies and historical dramas at the time when the dialogue is represented as taking place. The immediate cause of the discussion is Maternus's announcement of his resolve to abandon the forum and henceforth devote his attention to the Muses. It is therefore as poet and idealist that Maternus participates in the discussion. He is the counterpart of Aper. Wealth and influence have no charms for him. His choice is rather the *nemora et luci et secretum* (12. 1), the *felix contubernium* of the Muses (13. 1).

The Speaker in chapters 36–40. 1. A difficulty exists in distributing chapters 36–41. Some critics assign the entire passage to Maternus; others put chapters 36–40. 1 in the mouth of Secundus, assuming a lacuna before the words *non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur* in 40. 2, and allow Maternus's closing remarks to begin at that point. This latter view is plausible for two reasons: —

1. If we assign the entire passage from chapter 36 to the end of chapter 41 to Maternus, we meet with numerous irrelevant repetitions and inconsistencies. Thus if we attribute the

language in 37. 9 f. *plures tamen bonos proeliatores bella quam pax ferunt. Similis eloquentiae condicio* to Maternus, it is surprising to find the same speaker in 40. 7 repeating substantially the same idea in a weakened form : *tulit sine dubio valentiorem eloquentiam*, etc. So also 41. 6 *quid (opus est) voluntariis accusationibus, cum tam raro et parce peccetur?* 41. 5 *quid multis apud populum contionibus?* can hardly have been spoken by the same person as *iam vero contiones adsiduae et datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi atque ipsa inimicitiarum gloria*, in 40. 1. But if we attribute the latter passage to Secundus, and regard the former as Maternus's rejoinder, all difficulty disappears.

Again, if we attribute chapters 36 ff. to Maternus, we find him giving utterance to sentiments at variance with those previously expressed by him in the course of the discussion. Thus the enthusiastic allusion to the influence of the earlier orators in 36. 5, *hi clientelis etiam exterarum nationum redundabant, hos ituri in provincias magistratus reverebantur, hos reversi colebant, hos et praeturae et consulatus vocare ultro videbantur*, is inconsistent with the contempt of such honors expressed in 13. 2, *licet illos certamina et pericula sua ad consulatus evexerint.*

2. Furthermore chapters 36–40. 1 accord excellently with the character of Secundus as historian and antiquarian, in which he appears in the discussion. The chapters in question are in the nature of an historical résumé of the development and course of oratory at Rome.

We shall therefore do best to recognize Secundus as the speaker in all that follows the lacuna at the beginning of chapter 36 as far as 40. 1 *quas oratoribus faces admovebant.* At this point we must assume a second lacuna and assign to Maternus the passage from 40. 2 (*non de otiosa* etc.) to the close of 41.

V. SYNTAX AND STYLE OF THE DIALOGUS.

A. SYNTAX.

1. Nouns and Adjectives.

a. Fondness for the plural of abstract nouns, *e. g.:* 6. 5 *comitatus et egressus;* 6. 6 *gaudia;* 10. 5 *lascivias, lusus;* 10. 11 *adsensus;* 28. 8 *educationibus;* 28. 9 *pravitatibus.*

b. Certain unusual comparative and superlative forms of adjectives and participles are found, *e. g.:* 5. 2 *absolutissimus;* 8. 4 *sordidius et abiectius;* 18. 2 *audentius;* 18. 3 *distinctior;* 19. 3 *impeditissimarum.*

c. The author shows a partiality for the phrases *unus aut alter, unus et alter,* used of a small indefinite number, *e. g.:* 9. 6 *unus aut alter;* 21. 3 *unus et alter.*

d. The Cases.

1) The construction of the genitive with adjectives extends somewhat beyond the limits of earlier prose usage, *e. g.:* 13. 7 *incertus futuri;* 8. 6 *patientissimus veri.*

2) The poetic construction of the ablative of place occurs in 13. 8 *statuar tumulo;* 21. 14 *exsurgit toris.*

2. The Verb.

a. Characteristic of the *Dialogus* is the employment of the simple verb for the compound, *e. g.:* 17. 4 *pellere* for *depellere;* 19. 1 *flexisse* for *deflexisse;* 30. 8 *cluditur* for *includitur;* 38. 1 *finiebatur* for *definiebatur.*

b. So also sometimes the employment of compound verbs for simple ones, *e. g.:* 6. 5 *consurgendi* for *surgendi;* 22. 7 *determinet* for *terminet;* 38. 4 *depacaverat* for *pacaverat.*

c. Forms of *esse* are omitted with some freedom, — sometimes even where the verb, if expressed, would stand in the

subjunctive, *e. g.:* 31. 4 *qui scit quid ira* (sc. *sit*); 18. 4 *nec quaero quis disertissimus* (sc. *fuerit*).

d. The Indicative.

1) *Postquam* with the pluperfect indicative occurs in 22. 3 *postquam profecerat;* 38. 4 *postquam depacaverat.*

2) *Dum* with the indicative in subordinate clauses of indirect discourse occurs in 32. 11 *certum habeo dicturos me, dum laudo, meis ineptiis plausisse.*

3) *Sunt qui* with the indicative occurs in 31. 6 *sunt apud quos plus fidei meretur.*

e. The Subjunctive.

1) *Quamquam* with the subjunctive is the rule, (*e. g.:* 15. 3; 21. 13), though the indicative also occurs.

2) *Quamvis* with the subjunctive, denoting a fact, occurs, *e. g.* in 2. 3 *quamvis opinarentur.*

3) The subjunctive of indefinite frequency occurs, *e. g.* in 19. 3 *si dicendo quis diem eximeret.*

f. The Infinitive.

Quite characteristic of the *Dialogus* is the use of the infinitive depending upon an adjective, *e. g.:* 10. 8 *obnoxium offendere;* 16. 4. *manifestus est accingi,* 'is manifestly girding himself up'; 18. 4 *probasse contentus;* 23. 2 *significasse contentus;* 26. 10 *detrectasse contentus.* This is a poetical construction introduced into prose by post-Augustan writers.

g. Participles.

1) Characteristic of the *Dialogus* — as of Tacitus in general — is the extremely free use of participles as nouns of agency, *e. g.:* 6. 6 *orantibus* (= *oratoribus*); 28. 2 *inscientia praecipientium* (= *praeceptorum*); 30. 8 *cum voluptate audientium* (= *auditorum*); 41. 4 *in obsequium regentis* (= *regis*); 41. 6 *clementia cognoscentis* (= *iudicis*).

2) The future active participle is frequently equivalent to a relative clause, *e. g.:* 9. 7 *mansurum in animo beneficium*, 'a favor which will remain'; 22. 5 *paries duraturus;* 34. 6 *duraturam eloquentiae famam.* Sometimes the participle is accompanied by *tamquam*, *e. g.:* 2. 5 *tamquam gloriam habiturus.*

3) Characteristically Tacitean is the combination of the gerundive and gerund with *habeo* in phrases of the type *exempla quae spectanda haberemus*, 'examples which we should have to contemplate'; so also 19. 6 *exspectandum habent;* 31. 5 *dicendum habuerit;* 37. 4 *dicendum habeas;* 36. 7 *respondendum haberent.*

3. PARTICLES.

a. Prepositions.

1) *Circa* in the sense of 'in regard to, about, concerning, upon' occurs in 3. 4 *omne tempus circa Medeam consumas;* 22. 4 *otiosus circa excessus;* 28. 4 *circa educandos liberos pauca praedixero.*

2) *Citra* = *sine* is found 27. 2 *citra damnum adfectus;* 41. 8 *citra obtrectationem alterius.*

b. Adverbs and Conjunctions.

1) *Donec*, 'as long as,' occurs 8. 5 *donec libuit;* 40. 6 *donec erravit.*

2) *Igitur* almost invariably stands at the beginning of the sentence, *e. g.:* 3. 1.

3) *Neque* (*nec*) for *ne*, *neve* (*neu*) is frequent in expressions of wishing and commanding, *e. g.:* 13. 7 *nec scribam;* 22. 7 *nec determinet.*

4) *Quatenus* = *quoniam* occurs 5. 3 *quatenus non inveni;* 19. 1 *quatenus solent.*

5) *Quin immo* is occasionally post-positive, *e. g.:* 6. 3 *ipsos quin immo;* 34. 6 *inde quin immo;* 39. 4 *ipsam quin immo.*

6) *Tamquam* for *quod* occurs, introducing the reason of some one else than the writer, *e. g.:* 2. 1 *tamquam cogitasset.*

4. MISCELLANEOUS.

The transposition of nomen and cognomen (when the praenomen is omitted) occurs repeatedly, *e.g.:* 1. 1 *Iuste Fabi* (for *Fabi Iuste*); 8. 1 *Marcellum Eprium, Crispum Vibium.*

B. STYLE.

1. REDUNDANCY. Especially characteristic of the *Dialogus* is a certain fullness of expression. Tacitus at this first stage of his literary career was much under the influence of Cicero's style, and like Cicero is fond of dwelling upon a thought, of amplifying and repeating in other words what he has just said. Thus:

a. 6. 4 *ingentium opum ac magnae potentiae;* 7. 4 *vulgus imperitum et tunicatus hic populus;* 8. 8 *causis forensibus et oratorio studio;* 11. 1 *detrectaret poetas et carminum studium prosterneret.*

b. A special and very frequent form of this redundancy is the grouping of synonyms in pairs. Thus:

1) Nouns, *e. g.:* 7. 5 *advenae et peregrini;* 8. 7 *divitiae et opes;* 28. 7 *studia curasque;* 40. 6 *dissensiones et discordiae.*

2) Adjectives, *e.g.:* 5. 7 *inexercitatus et rudis;* 23. 4 *laetus et alacer;* 29. 2 *virides et teneri.*

3) Verbs, *e. g.:* 15. 1 *inridere atque contemnere;* 17. 6 *coniungere et copulare;* 26. 11 *fracta et deminuta.*

c. Sometimes the expression is absolutely pleonastic, *e. g.:* 18. 2 *ante praedixero;* 28. 4 *prius praedixero.*

2. ALLITERATION. This is also particularly frequent in the *Dialogus*, as in all the writings of Tacitus. Some of Tacitus's contemporaries, on the other hand, *e. g.* Quintilian,

avoid alliteration altogether. Examples in the *Dialogus* are: 2. 4 *purus et pressus et . . . profluens;* 4. 3 *satis superque sudatum est;* 11. 3 *nobis notitiae ac nominis;* 17. 6 *coniungere et copulare;* 26. 3 *lascivia verborum et levitate sententiarum et licentia compositionis;* 28. 8 *praefuisse . . . ac produxisse principes;* 31. 3 *vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum;* 32. 5 *praecepta prudentium penitus.*

3. ANAPHORA. This figure, while common to all forcible writing, is especially affected by Tacitus in the *Dialogus*, as in all his works. Examples are: 12. 2 *haec — haec — hoc — sic;* 23. 6 *ita — ea — is — ea — ea — is — ea — sic;* 38. 2 *omnia — omnia — omnia;* 40. 5 f. *omnia — omnia — omnia — omnes — donec — donec — donec — nulla — nulla — nulla — nulla — nullus.*

4. INDEBTEDNESS TO CICERO. Tacitus's obligations to Cicero — particularly to the *De Oratore*, *Brutus*, and *Orator* — are apparent throughout the *Dialogus*. Not only the general form of the piece, but numerous details of diction and phraseology reveal how closely the *Dialogus* imitates Ciceronian models. The following examples, to which many more might easily be added, will serve to illustrate the nature and extent of this indebtedness:

a. Correspondence in dramatic details. Thus:

1) The *Dialogus* purports to give an account of a discussion of eminent orators. Cf. *Dial.* 1. 4 *quae e viris praestantissimis excogitata subtiliter et dicta graviter excepi* with *de Or.* I. 4 *quae viri omnium eloquentissimi clarissimique senserint.*

2) The author professes in his reproduction to observe the characteristic peculiarities of the individual speakers. Cf. *Dial.* 1. 4 with *de Or.* III. 16.

3) In *Dial.* 14 the discussion is momentarily interrupted by the unexpected arrival of Messalla; so *de Or.* II. 14 by the entrance of Catulus. In both

instances the new-comers express a fear of intruding : *Dial.: num parum tempestivus inveni?* *de Or.: nisi forte molesti intervenimus.*

4) One interlocutor speaks for two. Cf. *Dial.* 16. 3 *pro duobus promitto*, with *de Or.* II. 27 *pro utroque respondeo.* In both passages we have further the phrase *si ante* (*nisi prius*) *a vobis impetravero.*

5) In *de Or.* I. 111 Crassus modestly refers to his contribution to the discussion as *ineptiae*; so Messalla in *Dial.* 32. 11.

b. Similar thoughts expressed in similar language :

CICERO.	DIALOGUS.
de Or. I. 53 *qua re nisi qui naturas hominum vimque omnem humanitatis causasque eas quibus mentes aut incitantur aut reflectuntur penitus perspexerit, dicendo quod volet perficere non poterit.*	31. 3 *de quibus copiose et varie et ornate nemo dicere potest, nisi qui cognovit naturam humanam et vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum.*
de Or. I. 64 *is erit orator mea sententia, hoc tam gravi dignus nomine, qui, quaecumque res inciderit quae sit dictione explicanda, prudenter et composite et ornate et memoriter dicet.*	*Dial.* 30. 8 *sed is erit orator qui de omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum apte dicere pro dignitate rerum ad utilitatem temporum cum voluptate audientium possit.*
Brut. 293 *equidem in quibusdam risum vix tenebam.*	*Dial.* 21. 1 *equidem fatebor vobis simpliciter me in quibusdam antiquorum vix risum tenere.*
Brut. 96 *summos honores sine ulla commendatione maiorum est adeptus.*	*Dial.* 8. 5 *sine commendatione natalium potentissimi sunt.*

c. Instances of similar or identical phrases:

subitus et fortuitus, de Or. I. 150; *Dial.* 10. 10.
ingenium alunt, Brut. 126; *Dial.* 14. 4.
redolent antiquitatem, Brut. 82; *Dial.* 21. 8.
humilis et abiectus, Or. 192; *Dial.* 36. 1.
accuratus et meditatus, de Or. I. 257; *Dial.* 6. 7.
tueri et defendere, de Or. I. 172; *Dial.* 7. 1.
a Cotta et Sulpicio haec omnis fluxit oratio, Brut. 201; *inde enim omnis fluxit oratio, Dial.* 9. 1.

5. Relation to Quintilian. It is not positively known that Tacitus was ever a pupil of Quintilian; yet this is extremely probable. At all events the clearest evidences exist in the *Dialogus* of the influence of Quintilian over the youthful author. Many rhetorical terms are common to Quintilian and the *Dialogus*, while the same general point of view, and often the same judgments upon men and things appear in both writers. This makes it almost certain that, if Tacitus was not, like his intimate friend the younger Pliny, an actual pupil of Quintilian, he was at least a member of the same literary circle. Direct indebtedness to Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* is out of the question, as that work was not published till after the *Dialogus*.

VI. OUTLINE OF THE DIALOGUS.

Introductory (1–2). In response to the repeated inquiries of Fabius Justus as to the causes of the decline of eloquence, Tacitus undertakes to give an account of a discussion on this subject at which he had been a listener some years before. The disputants at the outset were Marcus Aper, Julius Secundus, and Curiatius Maternus; the discussion took place at the house of Maternus.

Opening of the Discussion (3–5). Aper opens the discussion by arraigning Maternus for his devotion to poetry

and his consequent neglect of oratory. Maternus replying proposes that Secundus act as judge upon the relative merits of poetry and eloquence. The latter declines.

APER'S DEFENSE OF ORATORY AND ARRAIGNMENT OF POETRY (5–10). Aper nevertheless declares that he will not hesitate to condemn Maternus's neglect of oratory, and thereupon proceeds to expand upon the attractions of this profession. Nothing, he declares, is more useful, nothing more delightful, nothing more glorious than the career of the orator. In proof of this he refers to his own forensic triumphs, and points to the fame, the wealth, and the power of Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus, men high in the favor and counsels of the Emperor. Poetry, on the other hand, brings no positive advantage, its triumphs afford merely a passing pleasure, while the fame of even the greatest poet is much inferior to that of a gifted orator. Aper closes with an exhortation to Maternus to abandon poetry and devote himself to oratory, his earlier profession.

MATERNUS'S DEFENSE OF POETRY (11–13). Maternus praises the retirement and tranquillity of the woods and groves, the favorite haunt of poets, as compared with the din and distractions of the city. He refers to the dignity and glory always accorded poets in the past, and compares Homer with Demosthenes, Vergil with Cicero. Let others, he exclaims, enjoy the struggles, and win the triumphs of the forum. As for himself he prefers the companionship of the Muses.

ENTRANCE OF MESSALLA (14–16). Messalla arrives, and as he enters expresses regret at not having heard the previous discussion. Replying to a remark of Aper's he declares it as his opinion that the age of real orators is past. Asked by the others to give the reasons for this, he is about to proceed when Aper interrupts him.

APER'S DIGRESSION (16–23). Aper first enters upon a sophistical argument as to the meaning of the word *antiquus*. He maintains that the term cannot properly be applied to Cicero and his contemporaries; for they are separated from the present by less than the limit of a human life. The real *antiqui oratores* are Appius Claudius, Cato, Carbo, Galba, and the Gracchi. Cicero and his contemporaries belong rather to an intermediate era, — if anything, nearer the present than the past. Moreover the character of oratory varies with the times, and no single type is to be summarily condemned simply because it differs from another. Men always idealize the past, and underestimate the present. The new oratory really marks a great advance upon what preceded. It is brilliant and elaborate in style, whereas the earlier orators were dry and tedious. An audience of to-day, declares Aper, would no longer tolerate such speakers. People now want something ornate and striking, — something to remember and talk about. Calvus, Brutus, Asinius, and Corvinus were all faulty, and even Cicero, praised though he is by some, is worthy of admiration only in his latest speeches.

MESSALLA'S EXPLANATION OF THE DECLINE OF ORATORY (24–35). Messalla, urged by Maternus to fulfill the promise already given (in chapter 16), first defends the orators of the Ciceronian era against the attacks of Aper, maintaining that all were worthy of praise, each in his way. Contemporary oratory, on the other hand, he asserts, descends to meretricious devices, and is unworthy of respect. Reminded again by Maternus that he had promised to set forth the causes of the decline of eloquence, Messalla declares that they are really very obvious. According to his view the prime cause is neglect in the training of the young. Formerly the mother superintended personally the education of her sons. Now these are given over to slaves and nurses.

In earlier days too it used to be the custom for a young man preparing for the oratorical profession to attach himself to some jurist or advocate, to follow him day by day, in court and before the people, and thus learn his profession by practical experience. To-day, complains M[illegible]it is the fashion to declaim *suasoriae* and *controv[illegible]iae* [illegible]he school of some *rhetor*, — with results that are too well known to require further comment. (The speech breaks off in a lacuna.)

SECUNDUS'S SPEECH (36–40. 1. — The first part of the speech is lost in the lacuna). Secundus gives an historical review of the causes leading to the development of oratory at Rome, *viz.* the strife of parties and the general political restlessness which agitated the state. Oratory was favored too by the mode of procedure in the courts. Liberal time used to be afforded for speaking, and the number of counsel was not limited, whereas to-day every sort of restriction and impediment confronts the advocate. (The speech breaks off in a lacuna.)

MATERNUS'S CLOSING SPEECH (40. 2 to end). — The first part is lost. Referring to Secundus's last remarks, Maternus shows from them that eloquence is the child of discord, turbulence, and violence, that its existence is consequently an index of unsettled political conditions and defective government. Why, therefore, should we deplore its decadence? Let us enjoy the advantages of our own time, and not regret the lack of what we do not need.

P. CORNELII TACITI

DIALOGVS DE ORATORIBVS.

Saepe ex me requiris, Iuste Fabi, cur, cum priora 1
saecula tot eminentium oratorum ingeniis gloriaque
floruerint, nostra potissimum aetas deserta et laude
eloquentiae orbata vix nomen ipsum oratoris retineat.
Neque enim ita appellamus nisi antiquos, horum autem 2
temporum diserti causidici et advocati et patroni et
quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur. Cui percon- 3
tationi tuae respondere et tam magnae quaestionis
pondus excipere, ut aut de ingeniis nostris male existimandum sit, si idem adsequi non possumus, aut de
iudiciis, si nolumus, vix hercule auderem, si mea mihi

1. **Iuste Fabi**: a friend of the younger Pliny (*Ep.* I. 5. 8; 11), as well as of Tacitus. Nothing else is known concerning him. Possibly he is the L. Fabius Justus who was *consul suffectus* 102 A.D. Writers of the Silver Age frequently transpose the *nomen* and *cognomen*, as here, but only when the *praenomen* is omitted. The same transposition occurs also a few times as early as Cicero, *e.g.* *ad Att.* VIII. 15. 3 *Balbus Cornelius; pro Milone* 3. 8 *Ahala Servilius.* Other instances in the *Dialogus* are 13. 4 *Secundus Pomponius, Afro Domitio.* — **priora saecula**: *i.e.* the times of the Republic.

2. **ita**: viz. *oratores.* — **diserti**, *the fluent speakers;* subj. of *vocantur. Disertus* is a less complimentary designation than *orator* or *eloquens;* cf. Cic. *de Or.* I. 94 *scripsi . . . disertos cognosse me nonnullos, eloquentem adhuc neminem.* So Quintilian, I. 10. 8, contrasts *disertus* and *orator.* — **causidici**: regularly in a disparaging sense, *pettifoggers.* — **advocati**: in the post-Augustan period synonymous with *patronus, i.e. pleader.* Earlier it was applied to the friends of the accused who lent him their moral support by appearing with him in court.

3. **pondus**, *burden.* This figurative use of the word is rare in prose. — **excipere**: to undertake something put upon one by another, as opposed to *suscipere*, to undertake something voluntarily.

sententia proferenda ac non disertissimorum ut nostris temporibus hominum sermo repetendus esset, quos eandem hanc quaestionem pertractantes iuvenis admo-
4 dum audivi. Ita non ingenio, sed memoria et recordatione opus est, ut, quae e praestantissimis viris et excogitata subtiliter et dicta graviter excepi, cum singuli diversas eas quidem sed probabiles causas adferrent, dum formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii redderent, isdem nunc numeris isdemque rationibus
5 persequar servato ordine disputationis. Neque enim defuit qui diversam quoque partem susciperet ac multum vexata et inrisa vetustate nostrorum temporum eloquentiam antiquorum ingeniis anteferret.

2 Nam postero die quam Curiatius Maternus Catonem

— **ut nostris temporibus,** *for our times.* This restrictive use of *ut* is the result of ellipsis; cf. Cic. *de Sen.* 12 *multae etiam, ut in homine Romano, litterae.*— **iuvenis admodum**: according to chapter 17 the dialogue took place in the sixth year of Vespasian's reign, *i.e.* in the last half of 74 A.D. or in the first half of 75, when Tacitus was about twenty years old. See Intr. p. xiv.

4. **memoria et recordatione**: such combinations of synonyms are particularly frequent in the *Dialogus, e.g.* 7. 3 *fama et laus;* 2[illegible] 7 *studia curasque;* 16. 11 *veterem et antiquum.* This tendency is but one of many peculiarities in the style of the *Dialogus,* which betray its author's great indebtedness to Cicero, — particularly to the latter's rhetorical writings, the *de Oratore, Orator,* and *Brutus.* See Intr. p. xxiii.— **cum . . . adferrent,** *as they severally adduced different reasons, but withal plausible ones.* — **dum . . . redderent**: *i.e.* each speaker in his argument reflecting his own special temper and mode of thinking. This use of *reddere* in prose is post-Augustan. The subjv. is the result of attraction. — **isdem numeris,** etc., *with the same divisions of the subject, the same arguments, and observing the same order.* For this sense of *numeri* cf. 32. 3 and examples there cited.

5. **neque enim defuit,** etc.: justifying the use of the preceding *disputationis.*—**diversam partem,** *the opposite side; diversus* in the sense of *adversus,* as in 34. 6.

2. **Curiatius Maternus**: nothing is known concerning Maternus beyond what is mentioned in the present dialogue. He was of provincial, and probably Gallic, origin. See Intr. p. xvii. — **Catonem**: a *fabula praetexta, i.e.* a tragic drama treating of events drawn from Roman history, as opposed to a Greek tragedy adapted to the Roman stage (*tragoedia* in the strict sense). The play here mentioned

recitaverat, cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur,
tamquam in eo tragoediae argumento sui oblitus tantum
Catonem cogitasset, eaque de re per urbem frequens
sermo haberetur, venerunt ad eum M. Aper et Iulius
Secundus, celeberrima tum ingenia fori nostri, quos 2
ego utrosque non in iudiciis modo studiose audiebam,
sed domi quoque et in publico adsectabar mira studio-
rum cupiditate et quodam ardore iuvenili, ut fabulas
quoque eorum et disputationes et arcana semotae
dictionis penitus exciperem; quamvis maligne plerique 3

dealt with the fate of Cato Uticensis, who committed suicide at Utica in 46 B.C. to avoid falling into the hands of Julius Caesar.— **recitaverat**: see 9. 6 n. — **potentium**: *i.e.* the Emperor Vespasian and his advisers. Although a mild ruler, Vespasian was severe toward those who spoke freely in criticism of the imperial régime. Thus he banished and afterwards put to death Helvidius Priscus, besides expelling the philosophers of the Stoic and Cynic schools. — **in eo tragoediae argumento**: *i.e. in eius tragoediae argumento* — **tamquam**, *on the ground that*, as frequently in Tacitus. The subjv. in such cases is the same as that with *quod, quia*,— representing the thought as in the mind of some one else than the writer. — **sui oblitus**, etc., *that forgetting himself* (*i.e.* forgetting what was fitting and proper), *he had been thinking of nothing but Cato* (*i.e.* aiming to present the character of Cato). On the use of the acc. with *cogitare*, instead of *de* with the abl., cf. 36. 1 *rem cogitant; Agr.* 32 *maiores vestros et posteros cogitate.* — **M. Aper**: nothing is known of Aper beyond what is said of him in the *Dialogus*. He was born in Gaul, as appears from 10. 3, and had risen to senatorial rank and the praetorship. See Intr. p. xv. — **Iulius Secundus**: like Aper, a man of Gallic origin. He was a friend of Quintilian, who in X. 3. 12 calls him *mirae facundiae virum, infinitae tamen curae.* In another passage, X. 1. 120, Quintilian charges him with caring more for style than thought. See Intr. p. xvi.

2. ingenia: on the use of *ingenium* in the sense of *man of genius* cf. *Hist.* I. 1 *magna illa ingenia cessere.*— **quos utrosque**: instead of the usual *quorum utrumque.*—**studiorum cupiditate**, *with a passionate interest in their pursuits.* — **fabulas**, *conversation;* a post-Augustan sense of the word; cf. 29. 5 *praeceptores cum auditoribus fabulas habent.* Earlier writers use *sermo.* — **disputationes**: as for example that described in the *Dialogus* itself. — **arcana semotae dictionis**: apparently *the mysteries of their private rehearsals,* though neither *dictio* nor *semotus* occurs elsewhere in this sense.

3. quamvis opinarentur: the concessive clause introduced by *quamvis* refers in Cicero to something viewed as possible or contin-

opinarentur nec Secundo promptum esse sermonem et Aprum ingenio potius et vi naturae quam institutione
4 et litteris famam eloquentiae consecutum. Nam et Secundo purus et pressus et, in quantum satis erat, profluens sermo non defuit, et Aper omni eruditione imbutus contemnebat potius litteras quam nesciebat,
5 tamquam maiorem industriae et laboris gloriam habiturus, si ingenium eius nullis alienarum artium adminiculis inniti videretur.

3 Igitur ut intravimus cubiculum Materni, sedentem ipsumque quem pridie recitaverat librum inter manus habentem deprehendimus.

Tum Secundus 'Nihilne te' inquit, 'Materne, fabulae malignorum terrent, quo minus offensas Catonis tui ames? an ideo librum istum apprehendisti, ut diligentius

gent. Here, however, the *quamvis*-clause denotes a fact. The usage is post-Augustan.

4. **nam,** etc.: explaining *maligne* above. — **purus,** *idiomatic.* — **pressus,** *concise.* On the alliteration in *purus, pressus, profluens,* — a favorite rhetorical device of Tacitus, — see Intr. p. xxii.— **in quantum**: post-Augustan for *quantum;* cf. 32. 7 *in tantum.*

5. **tamquam,** etc., *that he would gain; tamquam* with the future participle is post-Augustan, as is also the free use of the future participle itself without an auxiliary; cf. *Ann.* XII. 49 *tamquam reciperaturus Armeniam.* — **maiorem industriae,** etc.: *i.e.* greater glory from the industry and labor which he really devoted to letters. — **ingenium eius**: more objective than *ingenium suum,* which would be the normal mode of expression. — **alienarum artium**: such as rhetoric, philosophy, etc.

3. **igitur**: though regularly postpositive in other writers (except Sallust), *igitur* in Tacitus almost invariably stands at the beginning of the sentence. — **inter manus**: more commonly *in manibus,* but cf. *Ann.* III. 16 *visum saepius inter manus Pisonis libellum.*— **fabulae,** *gossip.* — **terrent quominus**: *terrere* construed like *deterrere;* cf. *Hist.* I. 40 *terruere quo minus facerent scelus;* Caes. *B. G.* VII. 49 *ut terreret quo minus hostes insequerentur.* On the employment of *quo minus* after a negative, where the ordinary usage demands *quin,* cf. below *non satiant quo minus consumas;* 21. 6; 34. 3. Tacitus employs *quin* and *quo minus* without reference to the earlier usage. — **Catonis tui**: *i.e.* of your play *Cato.* — **ames**: for the use of *amo* applied to things cf. Sen. *Contr.* II. 2. 10 *non ignoravit vitia sua sed amavit;* Quint. X. 1. 130 *si non omnia sua amasset* (*sc.* Seneca).—

retractares et, sublatis si qua pravae interpretationi
materiam dederunt, emitteres Catonem non quidem
meliorem, sed tamen securiorem?'

Tum ille 'Leges' inquit 'quid Maternus sibi debuerit, 2
et adgnosces quae audisti. Quod si qua omisit Cato,
sequenti recitatione Thyestes dicet; hanc enim tragoe- 3
diam disposui iam et intra me ipse formavi, atque ideo
maturare libri huius editionem festino, ut dimissa priore
cura novae cogitationi toto pectore incumbam.'

'Adeo te tragoediae istae non satiant' inquit Aper, 4
'quo minus omissis orationum et causarum studiis
omne tempus modo circa Medeam, ecce nunc circa
Thyestem consumas? cum te tot amicorum causae, 5
tot coloniarum et municipiorum clientelae in forum
vocent, quibus vix suffeceris, etiam si non novum tibi

non quidem meliorem: the position of *quidem* is possibly a relic of the earlier and fuller form of expression *non illum quidem meliorem*. — **securiorem**, *safer*, *i.e.* less liable to a *prava interpretatio; securus* in this sense as applied to inanimate objects is post-Augustan.

2. leges, etc., *you will read what Maternus owed himself* (self-respect); *i.e.* you will find out by reading, what he owed, etc., implying that he could consistently do nothing else than allow the objectionable passages to remain. — **quae audisti**: *i.e.* at the reading of the play. — **Thyestes**: a frequent subject of dramatic treatment.

3. intra me ipse: note the difference between the Latin idiom and the English. — **maturare editionem festino**, *am hastening to expedite the publication*. For the partial tautology in *maturare festino* cf. 11. 2 *ingredi auspicatus sum*. — **cura**: *i.e.* the completion of the drama. — **cogitationi incumbam**: *incumbere* in the figurative sense, governing the dative is post-Augustan; the Ciceronian construction is *incumbere ad* or *in aliquid*.

4. satiant: in pregnant sense, equivalent to *satietate deterrent;* hence the construction with *quo minus*. — **circa**, *upon;* so also in 28. 4 *circa educandos liberos*. This sense of the word is post-Augustan.

5. suffeceris: potential; Gr. 311, *a*. — **si importasses**: dependent upon *et quibus vix sufficeres* to be supplied; on the expression **negotium importasses** cf. Cicero *de Off.* II. 18 *si quid importetur nobis incommodi;* so Livy XXXIX. 14. 4 *ne quid fraudis aut periculi importarent*. — **novum negotium**: *i.e.* of composing *praetextae* (such as the *Cato* and *Domitius*), as opposed to the adaptation of Greek tragedies (like the *Medea* and *Thyestes*) to the Roman stage. —

ipse negotium importasses, ut Domitium et Catonem, id est nostras quoque historias et Romana nomina, Graeculorum fabulis adgregares.'

4 Et Maternus 'Perturbarer hac tua severitate, nisi frequens et adsidua nobis contentio iam prope in con-
2 suetudinem vertisset. Nam nec tu agitare et insequi poetas intermittis, et ego, cui desidiam advocationum obicis, cottidianum hoc patrocinium defendendae adver-
3 sus te poeticae exerceo. Quo laetor magis oblatum nobis iudicem, qui me vel in futurum vetet versus facere vel, quod iam pridem opto, sua quoque auctoritate compellat, ut omissis forensium causarum angustiis, in quibus mihi satis superque sudatum est, sanctiorem illam et augustiorem eloquentiam colam.'

5 'Ego vero' inquit Secundus, 'antequam me iudicem Aper recuset, faciam, quod probi et moderati iudices solent, ut in iis cognitionibus se excusent, in quibus

Domitium: probably L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul 54 B.C. He was later a vigorous opponent of Julius Caesar, and fell at Pharsalus. In the time of the Empire he was regarded as one of the noblest champions of liberty. — **Graeculorum**: the diminutive conveys contempt.

4. frequens et adsidua: synonyms. Cf. 1. 4 n. *memoria et recordatione;* so also *agitare et insequi* in the following line. — **in consuetudinem vertisset**: cf. *Hist.* IV. 27 *quod tum in morem verterat.*

2. desidiam advocationum, *neglect of the law.* The gen. with *desidia* occurs only here. The construction is apparently modeled after such expressions as *neglegentia alicuius rei.* On **advocationum** see 1. 2 n. As *advocatus* in the Silver Age had acquired the meaning of *patronus*, so *advocatio* took on the sense of *patrocinium.* — **defendendae poeticae**: explaining *patrocinium*, — the appositional genitive; Gr. 214, *f.*

3. iudicem: *viz.* Secundus. — **mihi sudatum est**: dat. of agency. — **satis superque sudatum**: alliteration. See 2. 1 n. — **sanctiorem eloquentiam**: *i.e.* poetry. On *eloquentia* in the general sense of *literary expression* cf. 10. 5.

5. antequam recuset: implying purpose, equivalent to *ne recuset*, hence the subjv.; Roby, *Lat. Gram.* 1672. — **ut se excusent**: explanatory of quod. The expression is a technical one in judicial procedure. Any judge having a preconceived partiality for either party in a suit was held in duty bound to withdraw (*se*

manifestum est alteram apud eos partem gratia praevalere. Quis enim nescit neminem mihi coniunctiorem 2
esse et usu amicitiae et adsiduitate contubernii quam Saleium Bassum, cum optimum virum tum absolutissimum poetam? Porro si poetica accusatur, non alium video reum locupletiorem.'

'Securus sit' inquit Aper 'et Saleius Bassus et quis- 3
quis alius studium poeticae et carminum gloriam fovet, cum causas agere non possit. Ego enim, quatenus arbitrum litis huius non inveni, non patiar Maternum societate plurium defendi, sed ipsum solum apud nos 4
arguam, quod natus ad eloquentiam virilem et oratoriam, qua parere simul et tueri amicitias, adsciscere necessitudines, complecti provincias possit, omittit studium, quo non aliud in civitate nostra vel ad utilitatem fructuosius vel ad voluptatem iucundius vel ad dignitatem amplius vel ad urbis famam pulchrius vel ad

excusare) without waiting for his attitude to be challenged.— **alteram** (=*alterutram*), *one side or the other.*

2. contubernii, *familiar intercourse*, — a post-Augustan sense of the word, occurring also in 13. 1. — **Saleius Bassus**: a talented but needy epic poet favored by Vespasian; cf. Quint. X. 1. 90 *vehemens et poeticum ingenium Saleii Bassi fuit.*— **porro**, *therefore.* — **reum locupletiorem**: cf. Livy IX. 9. 18 *nos sumus rei satis locupletes,— sufficiently responsible parties.* So also in the phrases *locuples auctor, locuples testis, a responsible witness.* In the present passage the context demands the meaning *a more suitable defendant, i.e.* one who would more properly be arraigned. Secundus means to say that if any attack is made upon poetry, then he feels that his own friend Saleius Bassus, a man every inch a poet, is attacked too; hence he cannot act as judge in the controversy.

3. securus sit, etc.: ''Tis not a question between poetry and oratory; I am simply arraigning Maternus personally for neglecting his natural gifts.' — **cum . . . possit**: join closely with *fovet.* — **quatenus**, *because.* In this sense the word is poetical and post-Augustan. — **societate plurium**: *i.e.* by the fact that there are many others like him.— **plurium**: here = *complurium.*

4. virilem et oratoriam, *worthy a man and an orator.*— **complecti provincias**: *sc. patrocinio, i.e.* constitute one's self the protector of their interests.— **urbis**: *throughout the city.* So also **imperii, gentium.**

totius imperii atque omnium gentium notitiam inlustrius
5 excogitari potest. Nam si ad utilitatem vitae omnia consilia factaque nostra dirigenda sunt, quid est tutius quam eam exercere artem, qua semper armatus praesidium amicis, opem alienis, salutem periclitantibus, invidis vero et inimicis metum et terrorem ultro feras, ipse securus et velut quadam perpetua potentia ac potestate munitus? Cuius vis et utilitas rebus prospere
6 fluentibus aliorum perfugio et tutela intellegitur; sin proprium periculum increpuit, non hercule lorica et gladius in acie firmius munimentum quam reo et periclitanti eloquentia, praesidium simul ac telum, quo propugnare pariter et incessere sive in iudicio vel in senatu
7 sive apud principem possis. Quid aliud infestis patribus nuper Eprius Marcellus quam eloquentiam suam oppo-

5. **consilia factaque**: *thoughts and acts*.—**armatus**: agreeing with the subj. of **feras**.—**ultro**: *i.e.* going beyond mere defense.—**feras**: the second person in the general sense of anybody, everybody.—**perpetua potentia ac potestate**: *potentia* is power in general; *potestas* is vested or official power. For the alliteration see Intr. p. xxii.

6. **rebus prospere fluentibus**; cf. Cic. *de Off.* I. 90 *in rebus prosperis et ad voluntatem nostram fluentibus*.—**aliorum**: subjective with **perfugio**, objective with **tutela**.—**periculum increpuit**: a bold figure occurring only here, but quite in accordance with the vigor and energy of Aper's style.—**praesidium ac telum**: in apposition with **eloquentia**.—**sive ... vel ... sive**: **sive ... sive** contrast **in iudicio vel in senatu** on the one hand (as the older courts), with **apud principem**, (as the new tribunal of the Empire), on the other. For a precisely analogous use of particles cf. *Ann.* XIV. 7 *sive servitia armaret vel militem accenderet sive pervaderet*.—**in iudicio**: probably the centumviral court. This tribunal exercised jurisdiction particularly in cases involving the claims of heirs or wards to the possession of property. For the constitution of the court see 7. 1 n. *apud centumviros*.—**in senatu**: the jurisdiction of the senate was mainly criminal, and dealt chiefly with cases involving its own members, actions for lese-majesty and other political offenses.—**apud principem**: the highest tribunal was the *consilium* presided over by the Emperor himself. It enjoyed original jurisdiction in certain cases, while in others it exercised the right of revising the decision of the lower courts.

7. **Eprius Marcellus**: a noto-

suit? Qua accinctus et minax disertam quidem, sed
inexercitatam et eius modi certaminum rudem Helvidii
sapientiam elusit. Plura de utilitate non dico, cui parti 8
minime contra dicturum Maternum meum arbitror.

Ad voluptatem oratoriae eloquentiae transeo, cuius 6
iucunditas non uno aliquo momento, sed omnibus prope
diebus ac prope omnibus horis contingit. Quid enim 2
dulcius libero et ingenuo animo et ad voluptates
honestas nato, quam videre plenam semper et frequentem domum suam concursu splendidissimorum hominum? idque scire non pecuniae, non orbitati, non
officii alicuius administrationi, sed sibi ipsi dari? ipsos 3
quin immo orbos et locupletes et potentes venire plerumque ad iuvenem et pauperem, ut aut sua aut amicorum
discrimina commendent? Vllane tanta ingentium opum 4
ac magnae potentiae voluptas, quam spectare homines veteres et senes et totius orbis gratia subnixos in summa rerum omnium abundantia confitentes id quod

rious informer under Nero. In 66 A.D. he caused Thrasea Paetus to be put to death, and Thrasea's son-in-law, Helvidius Priscus, to be banished. The latter came back from exile under Galba, and in 70 A.D. made the fruitless attack upon Marcellus referred to in the text. Marcellus subsequently committed suicide to avoid the consequences of a conspiracy against Vespasian in which he had engaged. — **sapientiam**, *philosophy*. Helvidius, like Thrasea, was a Stoic. — **elusit**, *parried*, a technical gladiatorial term.

6. non uno aliquo momento: *i.e.* oratory is not like poetry, which gives but passing pleasure; cf. 9. *Vnus aliquis*, stronger than the simple *unus*, is a favorite locution of Cicero, *e.g. de Off.* II. 41; *de Fin.* III. 64. In post-Augustan writers it is rare. — **ac**, *and indeed.*

2. plenam et frequentem: redundant. — **orbitati**: alluding to the custom of insinuating one's self into the good graces of childless persons of wealth for the purpose of securing a legacy, — a practice satirized *e.g.* by Horace (*Sat.* II. 5) and Juvenal (*Sat.* 12. 93–130). — **sibi ipsi**: referring to the indefinite subject of **scire**. — **officii**: here *public office*,— a post-Augustan sense of the word.

3. quin immo: post-positive, as also in 34. 6 and 39. 4. — **venire**: construe with **scire**.

4. veteres et senes, *experienced old men*.— **orbis**: *sc. terrarum;* cf. *Agr.* 30 *raptores orbis*.— **in summa**

5 optimum sit se non habere? Iam vero qui togatorum comitatus et egressus, quae in publico species, quae in iudiciis veneratio, quod illud gaudium consurgendi adsistendique inter tacentes et in unum conversos, coire populum et circumfundi coram et accipere adfe-
6 ctum quemcumque orator induerit! Vulgata dicentium gaudia et imperitorum quoque oculis exposita percenseo; illa secretiora et tantum ipsis orantibus nota maiora
7 sunt: sive accuratam meditatamque profert orationem, est quoddam sicut ipsius dictionis ita gaudii pondus et constantia; sive novam et recentem curam non sine

rerum omnium abundantia: pleonastic,—apparently a union of two modes of expression, *rerum omnium abundantia* and *summa abundantia*.

5. **togatorum**: well-dressed citizens, as opposed to the *tunicatus populus* or rabble mentioned in 7. 4. — **comitatus et egressus**: these words constitute a sort of hendiadys, — 'what throngs attend him when he sets out from home!' See 11. 4, where Maternus replies to this remark of Aper's. Note also the employment of abstract nouns in the plural, — a characteristic feature of Tacitean style; cf. 28. 8 *educationibus*; 28. 9 *pravitatibus*, and see Intr., p. xix. — **consurgendi**: for *surgendi*. This use of *consurgo* does not appear till the Augustan era, *e.g.* Livy III. 71. 3. Cf. 38. 4 *depacaverat* for *pacaverat*. — **coire populum et circumfundi coram**, etc.: note the alliteration. The infinitives are taken by some editors as exclamatory; but it is better to understand *quod gaudium* (*est*) from the preceding line, and to recognize a change of construction from the gerund to the inf. Such concinnity, while rare in the *Dialogus*, is peculiarly characteristic of Tacitus's later works. Note the climax: 'assemble, crowd into the orator's very presence, and even follow him in his changing moods.' The skillful speaker, like the skillful actor, makes his audience share his own emotions.

6. **vulgata**, *well-known*, further explained by **imperitorum . . . exposita**, as **secretiora** by **tantum . . . nota**. The emphasis is upon **vulgata**: 'it's only well-known pleasures that I am enumerating; there are others less manifest, yet much greater.' — **imperitorum quoque**, *even of the unobserving*; **quoque** here in the sense of *vel* as in 39. 6. — **dicentium, orantibus**: the substantive use of the partic., as frequently in Tacitus; see Intr., p. xx. — **illa**: referring to what follows.

7. **meditatam**, *carefully studied; meditatus* is passive here, as always in Tacitus, except *Dial.* 10. 10. — **profert**: as subj. supply *orator* from the preceding **orantibus**.—**pondus et constantia**, *weight and substance*. — **novam et recentem**: each word with its distinct meaning:

aliqua trepidatione animi attulerit, ipsa sollicitudo commendat eventum et lenocinatur voluptati; sed extem- 8
poralis audaciae atque ipsius temeritatis vel praecipua iucunditas est. Nam in ingenio quoque sicut in agro, quamquam quaedam serantur atque elaborentur, gratiora tamen quae sua sponte nascuntur. Equidem, 7
ut de me ipse fatear, non eum diem laetiorem egi quo mihi latus clavus oblatus est, vel quo homo novus et in civitate minime favorabili natus quaesturam aut tribunatum aut praeturam accepi, quam eos quibus mihi pro mediocritate huius quantulaecumque in dicendo facultatis aut apud patres reum prospere defendere aut apud centumviros causam aliquam feliciter orare aut apud principem ipsos illos libertos et procuratores

new to the orator, and *recently treated* by him. — **curam,** *literary production;* a post-Augustan sense. — **attulerit**: future perfect, where we should rather expect the perfect, *attulit*.—**lenocinatur,** *promotes, increases;* a post-Augustan sense.

8. extemporalis: with **temeritatis** as well as **audaciae**: 'in daring, or sometimes even in reckless improvisation, there is the very highest pleasure.' For *extemporalis,* which is a post-Augustan word, Cicero uses *subitus, fortuitus, e.g. de Or.* I. 150 *subitam et fortuitam orationem;* so also *Dial.* 10. 10. — **quamquam . . . elaborentur**: 'although certain things which are planted and carefully tilled are sources of delight'; condensed for *quamquam quaedam, quae seruntur atque elaborantur, grata sint.* For the text of the passage see Crit. App. For *quamquam* with the subjv. see Gr. 285. 6.

7. latus clavus, *the broad* purple *stripe* on the tunic, the badge of senatorial rank.— **homo novus**: *i.e.* the first of his family to hold curule office. — **civitate minime favorabili**: some obscure city in Gaul; *favorabilis* is post-Augustan; so also *civitas* in the sense of *urbs.* — **quam eos**: supply *ago* from *egi* above. — **huius in dicendo facultatis**: cf. 38. 1 *modum in dicendo.*—**apud patres, apud centumviros, apud principem**: see 5. 6 n. The centumviral court consisted earlier of 105 judges, three from each of the thirty-five tribes. In the time of the Empire it had been increased to 180; but for convenience' sake the old name was always retained.—**ipsos illos,** *even those* trusted friends and servants of the Emperor. Nearly all the domestic officials and financial agents of the Emperor were freedmen. Even these favorites were sometimes indicted and compelled to enlist the services of an advocate. — **libertos et procuratores**: not two distinct classes, but *procura-*

...in extremis partibus
...s, ubi nati dicuntur.
...er milies sestertium 2
...opes possunt videri
...ed ipsa eloquentia, 3
...lta quidem omnibus
...usque fortunam homi-
..., sed haec, ut supra
...uditu cognoscenda, sed
... Nam quo sordidius et 4
...notabilior paupertas et
...s circumsteterunt, eo cla-
...oratoriae eloquentiae utili-
...nt, quod sine commendatione 5
...facultatum, neuter moribus
...que corporis contemptus, per
...issimi sunt civitatis ac, donec
...c principes in Caesaris amicitia

...00,-
...near-
...00,000.
...ms to
...Martial
... How
...informer
...Ann. XVI.
...Marcellus
...sestertium
...ing Thrasea.
...the singular;
...is regarded as
...io, *by reason of*,
...d classical use,
...later.
...ectanda ha-
...stan for *co-*
...*nobis essent.*
...diom, *e.g.* 31. 5

dicendum habuerit. The subjv. **haberemus** expresses the purpose of *eloquentia*, which is here personified.

4. **abiectius**: this unusual comparative form is not found before Tacitus. — **quoque**: *i.e. et quo.* — **nascentes eos circumsteterunt**: 'surrounded their cradles.'

5. **sine commendatione natalium**: cf. Cic. *Brut.* 96 *sine ulla commendatione maiorum*. *Natales* as a subst. is post-Augustan. — **substantia facultatum**, *store of riches.* The expression is found only here and in late Latin. — **alter habitu quoque corporis contemptus**: to which of the two Aper refers, is not known. — **donec**, *as long as*, a sense of the word rarely found in prose until

2 principum tueri et defendere datur. Tum mihi supra tribunatus et praeturas et consulatus ascendere videor, tum habere, quod, si non in animo oritur, nec codicillis
3 datur nec cum gratia venit. Quid? fama et laus cuius artis cum oratorum gloria comparanda est? Quinam inlustriores sunt in urbe non solum apud negotiosos et rebus intentos, sed etiam apud iuvenes vacuos et adulescentes, quibus modo et recta indoles est et bona
4 spes sui? Quorum nomina prius parentes liberis suis ingerunt? Quos saepius vulgus quoque imperitum et tunicatus hic populus transeuntes nomine vocat et
5 digito demonstrat? Advenae quoque et peregrini iam in municipiis et coloniis suis auditos, cum primum urbem attigerunt, requirunt ac velut adgnoscere con-
8 cupiscunt. Ausim contendere Marcellum hunc Eprium, de quo modo locutus sum, et Crispum Vibium (libentius enim novis et recentibus quam remotis et oblitteratis

tors who belonged to the class of liberti. — **datur** with the inf. occurs repeatedly in Tacitus, *e.g.* *Ann.* IV. 6 *dabaturque primoribus disserere.*

2. **codicillis,** *cabinet-orders* of the Emperor.

3. **fama et laus**: note the accumulation of synonyms in this passage: **fama et laus; negotiosos et rebus intentos; vulgus imperitum, tunicatus populus; advenae et peregrini.** — **quibus modo est**: clause of proviso in ind.

4. **ingerunt,** *impress upon.* — **tunicatus,** *in working dress;* cf. Hor. *Ep.* I. 7. 65 *vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello.* — **hic**: *i.e. noster.* — **digito demonstrat**: usually *digito monstrare,* but cf. Cic. *de Or.* II. 266 *demonstravi digito pictum Gallum.*

5. **auditos,** *heard of,* a signification occurring repeatedly in Tacitus, *e.g.* *Germ.* 41 *Albis flumen nunc tantum auditur.* So Pliny, *Ep.* VII. 27. 7 *simulacra audita,* and even Cicero, *e.g.* *Nat. D.* II. 6 *eo ipso die auditam esse eam pugnam memoriae proditum est.* — **velut adgnoscere**: *i.e.* as though they had already seen them; so clear a picture have they gained by report.

8. **Marcellum Eprium, Crispum Vibium**: for the transposition of the names see 1. 1 n. For Marcellus see 5. 7 n. Q. Vibius Crispus, a native of Vercellae in Cisalpine Gaul, was noted as an orator and an informer under Nero. He filled several minor offices in the reigns of Nero and Vespasian, and died at an advanced age in the reign of Domitian. — **novis et recentibus,** *new and* consequently *fresh* in the minds of all.

exemplis utor) non minus notos esse in extremis partibus
terrarum quam Capuae aut Vercellis, ubi nati dicuntur.
Nec hoc illis alterius bis, alterius ter milies sestertium 2
praestat (quamquam ad has ipsas opes possunt videri
eloquentiae beneficio venisse), sed ipsa eloquentia, 3
cuius numen et caelestis vis multa quidem omnibus
saeculis exempla edidit, ad quam usque fortunam homi-
nes ingenii viribus pervenerint, sed haec, ut supra
dixi, proxima et quae non auditu cognoscenda, sed
oculis spectanda haberemus. Nam quo sordidius et 4
abiectius nati sunt quoque notabilior paupertas et
angustiae rerum nascentes eos circumsteterunt, eo cla-
riora et ad demonstrandam oratoriae eloquentiae utili-
tatem inlustriora exempla sunt, quod sine commendatione 5
natalium, sine substantia facultatum, neuter moribus
egregius, alter habitu quoque corporis contemptus, per
multos iam annos potentissimi sunt civitatis ac, donec
libuit, principes fori, nunc principes in Caesaris amicitia

2. **bis, ter milies**: *sc. centena milia, i.e.* 200,000,000 and 300,000,000 sesterces respectively, or nearly $10,000,000 and $15,000,000. The wealth of Crispus seems to have been proverbial; cf. Martial IV. 54. 7 *divitior Crispo.* How lucrative the business of informer was, may be seen from *Ann.* XVI. 33, where it is stated that Marcellus received *quinquagies sestertium* ($250,000) for accusing Thrasea. — **praestat**: note the singular; *bis milies sestertium* is regarded as a unit. — **beneficio**, *by reason of*, not a recognized classical use, though common later.

3. **cognoscenda, spectanda haberemus**: post-Augustan for *cognoscenda, spectanda nobis essent.* Tacitus affects this idiom, *e.g.* 31. 5 *dicendum habuerit.* The subjv. **haberemus** expresses the purpose of *eloquentia*, which is here personified.

4. **abiectius**: this unusual comparative form is not found before Tacitus. — **quoque**: *i.e. et quo.* — **nascentes eos circumsteterunt**: 'surrounded their cradles.'

5. **sine commendatione natalium**: cf. Cic. *Brut.* 96 *sine ulla commendatione maiorum. Natales* as a subst. is post-Augustan. — **substantia facultatum**, *store of riches.* The expression is found only here and in late Latin. — **alter habitu quoque corporis contemptus**: to which of the two Aper refers, is not known. — **donec**, *as long as*, a sense of the word rarely found in prose until

agunt feruntque cuncta atque ab ipso principe cum
6 quadam reverentia diliguntur, quia Vespasianus, vene-
rabilis senex et patientissimus veri, bene intellegit
ceteros quidem amicos suos iis niti quae ab ipso
acceperint quaeque ipsis accumulare et in alios con-
gerere promptum sit, Marcellum autem et Crispum
attulisse ad amicitiam suam quod non a principe
7 acceperint nec accipi possit. Minimum inter tot ac
tanta locum obtinent imagines ac tituli et statuae,
quae neque ipsa tamen negleguntur, tam hercule quam
divitiae et opes, quas facilius invenies qui vituperet
8 quam qui fastidiat. His igitur et honoribus et orna-
mentis et facultatibus refertas domos eorum videmus
qui se ab ineunte adulescentia causis forensibus et
oratorio studio dederunt.

the post-Augustan period.— **agunt feruntque cuncta** : 'carry everything before them, are everywhere triumphant.' The expression is generally used of plundering an enemy's country, like the Greek φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν. Note that the usual order of the phrase, *ferre et agere*, is here reversed. So also sometimes in Greek.

6. venerabilis senex: Vespasian was about 65 years old at this time. — **patientissimus veri** : *i.e.* quite ready to recognize the truth, as explained by what immediately follows, **Marcellum . . . attulisse.** — **ceteros niti** : although grammatically coördinate with **attulisse, niti** is logically subordinate to it, 'while his other friends depend, etc.' — **quod** serves both as obj. of **acceperint** and as subj. of **possit**; cf. *Ann.* II. 83 *quaedam statim omissa sunt aut vetustas oblitteravit.*

7. tot ac tanta : for *tot ac tantas res. Tot* as a neuter subst. is not elsewhere found.—**imagines ac tituli et statuae** : *imagines* is probably not used in its regular technical sense of *ancestral masks* since Marcellus and Crispus were *novi homines*. The reference is rather to the so-called *clipeatae* or *argenteae imagines*, which were portraits of the Emperor or some distinguished man ; *tituli* are honorary inscriptions upon busts or statues. *Statuae* probably refers to life-size statues. Under the Empire the right to set up one's own statue was a privilege conferred by the Senate or the Emperor. — **neque ipsa** : equivalent to *ne ipsa quidem*, a post-Augustan usage.— **tam hercule quam divitiae et opes** : 'no more, in fact, than wealth and riches.'

8. his : *i.e.* those enumerated in chapters 5–8. The emphasis rests upon **his**, — *such, then, are the honors*, etc.

Nam carmina et versus, quibus totam vitam Maternus 9
insumere optat (inde enim omnis fluxit oratio), neque dignitatem ullam auctoribus suis conciliant neque utilitates alunt, voluptatem autem brevem, laudem inanem et infructuosam consequuntur. Licet haec ipsa et quae 2
deinceps dicturus sum, aures tuae, Materne, respuant: cui bono est, si apud te Agamemnon aut Iason diserte loquitur? quis ideo domum defensus et tibi obligatus redit? quis Saleium nostrum, egregium poetam vel, si 3
hoc honorificentius est, praeclarissimum vatem, deducit aut salutat aut prosequitur? Nempe si amicus eius, si 4
propinquus, si denique ipse in aliquod negotium inciderit, ad hunc Secundum recurret aut ad te, Materne, non quia poeta es neque ut pro eo versus facias; hi 5
enim Basso domi nascuntur, pulchri quidem et iucundi,

9. **nam carmina**: before these words supply in thought: 'Quite different is it with poetry.'—**insumere optat**: the inf. with *opto* is found in prose as early as Livy, *e.g.* IX. 14. 15 *perdere prius quam perire optantes.* — **inde**: *i.e.* from Maternus's devotion to the art. — **dignitatem**, etc.: the same points of view as considered above in chapter 5 in discussing oratory. — **infructuosam**: a post-Augustan word.

2. **cui bono**, *to whom is it of advantage?* Gr. 233. This was originally a legal phrase employed in the sense: 'Who could have had a motive?'—**apud te**, *in your works.*—**Agamemnon aut Iason**: characters in the Thyestes and Medea respectively; cf. 3. 2.

3. **Saleium**: see 5. 2 n. — **poetam, vatem**: '*vates*, the oldest name for poet, afterwards fell into complete contempt, and was discarded for *poeta*. Vergil and succeeding writers made *vates* once more a name of honor, and denoted by it an inspired bard, something higher than *poeta*.' Munro on Lucret. I. 102. — **deducit, salutat, prosequitur**: 'who escorts him from his house to the Forum, who pays his respects to him in the morning, who attends him to the gates when he goes on a journey?'

4. **negotium**: in the legal sense of a *lawsuit*. — **non quia poeta es**: Maternus was an advocate as well as a poet. For the ind. with *non quia* in causal clauses which deny absolutely, see Gildersleeve 541, Rem. 1. *Non quia*, in place of the earlier *non quod*, begins to be frequent about the time of Livy.

5. **domi nascuntur**: apparently a proverbial expression. Cf. Cic. *Acad.* II. 80 *domi nobis ista nascuntur; ad Fam.* IX. 3. 2 *sed quid ego nunc haec ad te, cuius domi nascuntur?* — **quorum tamen hic**

quorum tamen hic exitus est, ut, cum toto anno, per
omnes dies, magna noctium parte unum librum excudit
et elucubravit, rogare ultro et ambire cogatur, ut sint
6 qui dignentur audire. Et ne id quidem gratis; nam et
domum mutuatur et auditorium exstruit et subsellia
conducit et libellos dispergit. Et ut beatissimus reci-
tationem eius eventus prosequatur, omnis illa laus
intra unum aut alterum diem velut in herba vel flore
praecerpta, ad nullam certam et solidam pervenit
7 frugem; nec aut amicitiam inde refert aut clientelam
aut mansurum in animo cuiusquam beneficium, sed
clamorem vagum et voces inanes et gaudium volucre.
8 Laudavimus nuper ut miram et eximiam Vespasiani
liberalitatem, quod quingenta sestertia Basso donasset.
9 Pulchrum id quidem, indulgentiam principis ingenio

exitus est: *the outcome of which, however, is simply this.* — **toto anno, magna parte**: here of duration. Gr. 279. — **ultro**, *besides.*

6. gratis, *without expense.* — **auditorium**, *an audience room,* — a post-Augustan word. — **exstruit**, *arranges, gets ready;* only here in this sense. — **libellos**: here probably in the sense of *programmes;* cf. Martial XIV. 142; Pliny *Ep.* III. 18. 4. The custom of publicly reading literary works originated with Asinius Pollio about 28 B.C. Some authors recited in public places, as the Forum and the baths. Others recited to private audiences, hiring and furnishing buildings for the purpose at their own expense. Under the Empire these recitations became so frequent that it was often difficult to secure the attendance of even a small audience; cf. Pliny *Ep.* I. 13. 2 *lente cunctanterque veniunt; nec tamen permanent sed ante finem recedunt, alii dissimulanter et furtim, alii simpliciter et libere.* — **ut prosequatur**: concessive. — **omnis illa laus**, etc.: 'all that fame vanishes within a day or two, just as grain that is gathered in the blade or flower does not come to maturity.' The comparison is not fully carried out in the Latin. With **laus** we expect some such verb as *perit*, and with **praecerpta**, *messis.* — **unum aut alterum**: of a small indefinite number, — *one or two.* So also 29. 1; 39. 4; cf. 21. 3 *una et altera.* — **refert**: *sc.* Bassus, as the representative of poets in general.

7. mansurum: equivalent to a relative clause, *which will remain.* This use of the future participle is mainly post-Ciceronian.

8. quingenta sestertia, *500,000 sesterces*, nearly $25,000.

9. si ita res familiaris exigat: *i.e.* if the low status of one's finances demand it. — **se ipsum**

mereri; quanto tamen pulchrius, si ita res familiaris
exigat, se ipsum colere, suum genium propitiare, suam
experiri liberalitatem! Adice quod poetis, si modo
dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere velint, relinquenda
conversatio amicorum et iucunditas urbis, deserenda
cetera officia, utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos,
id est in solitudinem secedendum est. Ne opinio 10
quidem et fama, cui soli serviunt et quod unum esse
pretium omnis laboris sui fatentur, aeque poetas quam
oratores sequitur, quoniam mediocres poetas nemo
novit, bonos pauci. Quando enim rarissimarum reci- 2
tationum fama in totam urbem penetrat? nedum ut
per tot provincias innotescat; quotus quisque, cum 3
ex Hispania vel Asia (ne quid de Gallis nostris loquar)
in urbem venit, Saleium Bassum requirit? Atque adeo
si quis requirit, ut semel vidit, transit et contentus est,

colere: *se* is obj.; *ipsum* subj. — **genium suum propitiare,** *make one's genius propitious.* The *genius* was the tutelary deity which, according to the Roman conception, came into existence with the birth of each individual and presided over his destiny during life; cf. Hor. *Ep.* II. 2. 187.

10. **conversatio,** *intercourse,* a post-Augustan usage of the word. — **utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos**: cf. Hor. *Ep.* II. 2. 77 *scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem.*

10. opinio, *reputation;* in this absolute sense post-Augustan. — **quod**: attracted into the case of its predicate, **pretium.** — **aeque quam**: for *aeque ac;* frequent in post-Augustan Latin, especially in negative sentences, *e.g.* *Ann.* II. 52 *nihil aeque cavebatur quam ne bellum metu eluderent.*

2. **rarissimarum,** *the choicest;* cf. for this rare meaning of the word, *Agr.* 4 *mater rarae castitatis:* 7 *rarissima moderatio.* — **nedum ut innotescat,** *still less does it become known;* **nedum ut** for *nedum.* — **per tot provincias,** *through the provinces, so many in number.* — **quotus quisque,** *how few!* So also 26. 11. — **Gallis nostris**: Aper himself was a Gaul. See 2. 1 n. and Intr., p. xv.

3. **ut semel vidit**: cf. the story in Pliny, *Ep.* II. 3. 8, of the Spaniard who journeyed to Rome for the purpose of beholding Livy, and upon seeing him immediately returned home. — **vidisset**: the pluperfect here, at variance with the usual sequence of tenses in clauses of this type, emphasizes the unreal character of the hypothesis. See Kühner, *Lat. Gram.*, II. § 224, 5, Anm. 3.

4 ut si picturam aliquam vel statuam vidisset. Neque
hunc meum sermonem sic accipi volo, tamquam eos,
quibus natura sua oratorium ingenium denegavit, deter-
ream a carminibus, si modo in hac studiorum parte
oblectare otium et nomen inserere possunt famae.
5 Ego vero omnem eloquentiam omnesque eius partes
sacras et venerabiles puto, nec solum cothurnum ve-
strum aut heroici carminis sonum, sed lyricorum quoque
iucunditatem et elegorum lascivias et iamborum amari-
tudinem et epigrammatum lusus et quamcumque aliam
speciem eloquentia habeat, anteponendam ceteris aliarum
6 artium studiis credo. Sed tecum mihi, Materne, res
est, quod, cum natura tua in ipsam arcem eloquentiae
ferat, errare mavis et summa adepturus in levioribus
7 subsistis. Vt, si in Graecia natus esses, ubi ludicras

4. **tamquam**: here, as also in 8 and 25. 1, to introduce a substantive clause of indirect discourse. — **parte**, *field*. — **nomen inserere famae**: a Tacitean expression; cf. *Hist.* II. 61 *inserere sese fortunae*.

5. **eloquentiam**: see 4. 3 n. — **cothurnum**: by metonymy for *tragoedia*. — **vestrum**: *i.e.* of Maternus and his fellows. — **sonum**, *lofty sound;* cf. Quint. X. 1. 68 *sonus Sophoclis videtur esse sublimior*. — **elegorum**: the elegy among the Romans was primarily a love poem. Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid were its chief representatives. — **lascivias, lusus**: for the plural see 6. 5 n. — **iamborum amaritudinem**: iambics were originally among the Greeks the vehicle of invective; cf. Hor. *A. P.* 79 *Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo*. In Roman literature the type is well represented by some of Horace's epodes. — **ceteris aliarum artium studiis**: redundant; cf. *Ger.* 4 *nullis aliis aliarum nationum conubiis*.

6. **tecum mihi est res**, *'tis with you my quarrel is*. — **ipsam arcem**, *the very heights*. — **errare . . . subsistis**: Tacitus abandons the figure with which he began in **ipsam arcem**. We should expect **in inferioribus** instead of *in levioribus*. — **adepturus**: with concessive force, *though you might attain;* cf. 9. 7 n.

7. **ludicras artes**, *spectacular performances*, here including athletic contests; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 88. 20 *ludicrae sunt* [*artes*] *quae ad voluptatem oculorum atque aurium tendunt*. — **honestum est**: *i.e. respectable* for free-born citizens to engage in such contests, which it was not at Rome. — **Nicostrati**: a famous athlete who lived in the first century A.D. — **robur ac vires**: a favorite phrase of Tacitus in the *Histories*, *e.g.* I. 87, II. 11. — **ad pugnam**: *i.e.* boxing. — **levi-**

quoque artes exercere honestum est, ac tibi Nicostrati robur ac vires dii dedissent, non paterer immanes illos et ad pugnam natos lacertos levitate iaculi aut iactu disci vanescere, sic nunc te ab auditoriis et theatris in
forum et [ad causas et ad] vera proelia voco, cum prae- 8
sertim ne ad illud quidem confugere possis, quod plerisque patrocinatur, tamquam minus obnoxium sit offendere
poetarum quam oratorum studium. Effervescit enim 9
vis pulcherrimae naturae tuae, nec pro amico aliquo,
sed, quod periculosius est, pro Catone offendis. Nec 10
excusatur offensa necessitudine officii aut fide advocationis aut fortuitae et subitae dictionis impetu: meditatus videris elegisse personam notabilem et cum auctoritate dicturam. Sentio quid responderi possit:
hinc ingentes exsistere adsensus, haec in ipsis auditoriis 11
praecipue laudari et mox omnium sermonibus ferri.
Tolle igitur quietis et securitatis excusationem, cum tibi 12
sumas adversarium superiorem; nobis satis sit privatas

tate iaculi: the javelin was a light weapon. — **vanescere**: in prose a post-Augustan word. — **ab theatris**: *i.e.* from recitations, which were often held in theatres. The reference cannot be to dramatic performances, since at this time the legitimate drama had disappeared from the Roman stage.

8. tamquam: as in 4. — **offendere**: dependent upon **obnoxium**, a Grecism. The classical construction is the dative of a noun; cf. 16. 4 *manifestus accingi*.

10. necessitudine officii: 'from necessity of performing an obligation'; *necessitudo* here = *necessitas*. — **fortuitae et subitae** = *extemporalis*. See 6. 8 n. — **meditatus**, etc., *with deliberate purpose do you seem*, etc. **meditatus** is the participle, and is employed by Tacitus only here in its active sense. — **personam**: viz. Cato. — **dicturam**: cf. 9. 7 n. *mansurum*.

11. hinc: *i.e.* from poetry.

12. tolle igitur: some assume a lacuna before these words. At all events we must supply in thought some such notion as: 'But your language thus gives the greater offense to those in power, and brings greater peril to yourself. Therefore away (*tolle igitur*) with the plea that poetry is a tranquil and secure occupation, since you yourself incur the hostility of a superior opponent, the Emperor.' — **privatas controversias**: *i.e.* those cases which concern neither the state nor the Emperor. —

et nostri saeculi controversias tueri, in quibus [expressis] si quando necesse sit pro periclitante amico potentiorum aures offendere, et probata sit fides et libertas excusata.'

11 Quae cum dixisset Aper acrius, ut solebat, et intento ore, remissus et subridens Maternus 'Parantem' inquit 'me non minus diu accusare oratores quam Aper laudaverat (fore enim arbitrabar ut a laudatione eorum digressus detrectaret poetas atque carminum studium prosterneret) arte quadam mitigavit, concedendo iis
2 qui causas agere non possent, ut versus facerent. Ego autem sicut in causis agendis efficere aliquid et eniti fortasse possum, ita recitatione tragoediarum et ingredi famam auspicatus sum, cum quidem in Neronem improbam et studiorum quoque sacra profanantem Vatinii
3 potentiam fregi; et hodie si quid in nobis notitiae ac nominis est, magis arbitror carminum quam orationum
4 gloria partum. Ac iam me deiungere a forensi labore

nostri saeculi: as opposed to the days of Cato, for example.

11. non minus diu, *at no less length.* — **prosterneret**: a strong word, *trample in the dust,* with sarcastic allusion to Aper's impetuosity.

2. sicut . . . ita: the *sicut*-clause has concessive force; cf. 37. 5 *quae mala sicut non accidere melius est . . . ita cum acciderent,* where also we have the pleonastic *sicut* in place of the simple *ut.* — **arte quadam**: further explained by **concedendo ut versus facerent.** — **eniti,** *accomplish by effort.* — **ingredi auspicatus sum**: for the pleonasm cf. 3. 3 n. *maturare festino; Ger.* 18 *ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis; Ann.* XIII. 10 *principium anni inciperet;* so frequently in expressions of beginning. — **in Neronem Vatinii potentiam,** *Vatinius's power over Nero;* cf. Cic. *de Rep.* II. 49 *in populos perpetuam potestatem;* III. 23 *in populum vitae necisque potestatem habent.* — **studiorum sacra,** *the sacred province of literature;* cf. Quint. X. 1. 92 *sacra litterarum.* — **Vatinii**: one of the worst of the favorites of Nero. Tacitus says of him elsewhere, *Ann.* XV. 34, *Vatinius inter foedissima eius aulae ostenta fuit.* Nothing further is known of the success of Maternus here referred to.

3. nobis, notitiae, nominis: alliteration. See Intr. p. xxii. — **partum**: *sc. esse.*

4. deiungere: found only here in the figurative sense. — **comitatus**

constitui, nec comitatus istos et egressus aut frequen-
tiam salutantium concupisco, non magis quam aera et
imagines, quae etiam me nolente in domum meam
inruperunt. Nam statum cuiusque ac securitatem
melius innocentia tuetur quam eloquentia, nec vereor
ne mihi umquam verba in senatu nisi pro alterius
discrimine facienda sint. Nemora vero et luci et 12
secretum ipsum, quod Aper increpabat, tantam mihi
adferunt voluptatem, ut inter praecipuos carminum
fructus numerem, quod non in strepitu nec sedente
ante ostium litigatore nec inter sordes ac lacrimas
reorum componuntur, sed secedit animus in loca pura
atque innocentia fruiturque sedibus sacris. Haec 2
eloquentiae primordia, haec penetralia; hoc primum
habitu cultuque commoda mortalibus in illa casta et

istos et egressus aut frequentiam: with reference to Aper's words in 9. 3; **comitatus et egressus** correspond to *deducit*, and **frequentiam salutantium** to *salutat*. For the substantive use of the participle **salutantium** see 6. 6 n. *dicentium*. — **aera et imagines**, *bronze medallions*; hendiadys. Reference is made to the *imagines clipeatae*; see 8. 7.— **me nolente**: *nolens* is a post-Augustan form, and confined almost exclusively to the ablative absolute construction. — **in domum inruperunt**: in the historical works Tacitus uses this verb as transitive, *e.g. Ann.* XIV. 11 *ne inrumperet curiam*.

5. **statum tuetur**: the figure is taken from the gladiatorial profession; cf. Cic. *ad Fam.* IX. 16. 6 *ego me non putem tueri meum statum sic posse*. — **in senatu**: see 5. 6 n.— **pro alterius discrimine**: not as attorney but as friend.

12. quod Aper increpabat: see 9. 10. — **in strepitu**, *amid the din* of the city; cf. Aper's *iucunditas urbis* in 9. 10. — **sedente ante ostium litigatore**: cf. Hor. *Ep.* I. 5. 31 *atria servantem clientem; Sat.* I. 1. 10 *sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat*. Note the change of construction from *in* with the ablative to the ablative absolute. — **sordes**, *wretchedness*, literally *mourning*, which it was usual for the accused to put on. For the combination with *lacrimae* cf. Cic. *ad Fam.* XIV. 2. 2 *te nunc, mea Terentia, sic iacere in lacrimis et sordibus*.—**sed secedit**: anacoluthon; **secedit** and **fruitur** are not opposed to **componuntur** but to **strepitu**, a modifier of the latter. Strictness of expression would require *sed in locis puris . . . quo animus secedit*, etc.

2. **haec primordia, haec penetralia**: *here was her beginning, here her shrine*. — **hoc habitu**, etc., *in this guise and dress*, referring

nullis contacta vitiis pectora influxit; sic oracula loque-
3 bantur. Nam lucrosae huius et sanguinantis eloquen-
tiae usus recens et ex malis moribus natus atque, ut tu
4 dicebas, Aper, in locum teli repertus. Ceterum felix
illud et, ut more nostro loquar, aureum saeculum et
oratorum et criminum inops poetis et vatibus abun-
dabat, qui bene facta canerent, non qui male admissa
5 defenderent. Nec ullis aut gloria maior aut augustior
honor, primum apud deos, quorum proferre responsa
et interesse epulis ferebantur, deinde apud illos diis
genitos sacrosque reges, inter quos neminem causidicum,
sed Orphea et Linum ac, si introspicere altius velis,
6 ipsum Apollinem accepimus. Vel si haec fabulosa
nimis et composita videntur, illud certe mihi concedes,
Aper, non minorem honorem Homero quam Demostheni
apud posteros, nec angustioribus terminis famam Euri-
pidis aut Sophoclis quam Lysiae aut Hyperidis includi.

loosely to poetic form. Maternus's point is that **eloquentia** began with poetry; **habitu** and **cultu** are ablative of quality modifying the omitted subj. of **influxit**, *eloquentia*, which is here personified. —**commoda mortalibus**, *in kindness to mortals;* cf. Livy XXXIV. 3. 5 *nulla lex satis commoda omnibus est.*— **et nullis**: for the regular *nec ullis.* So also 28. 9 *et nullis pravitatibus detorta; Agr.* 16 *et nullis delictis invisus.* — **sic**: *i.e.* in poetic form.

3. **huius**: of the present day. — **sanguinantis**: with reference to the bloody work of the informers. The word occurs only here in this sense. — **ut tu dicebas**: see 5. 6.

4. **ceterum**, *but on the other hand;* used adversatively.

5. **interesse epulis**: no other ancient writer alludes to any such association of gods and poets. — **inter quos**, *associated with whom;* supply *fuisse.* Tacitus sometimes omits the inf. with *accipere* when used in this sense; cf. 40. 3 *quem enim oratorem Lacedaemonium, quem Cretensem accepimus?* — **neminem** = *nullum;* in Tacitus only here and perhaps 15. 1 *neminem oratorem.* The same use is found a few times also in Cicero, *e.g. Nat. D.* II. 81 *nemo opifex possit consequi imitando.* — **Linum**: an early bard put to death by Apollo, with whom he had presumed to engage in a contest of musical skill. — **altius**: literally *higher, i.e. farther back.*— **ipsum Apollinem**: possibly alluding to Apollo's sojourn at the court of Admetus.

Plures hodie reperies qui Ciceronis gloriam quam qui 7
Vergilii detrectent, nec ullus Asinii aut Messallae liber tam inlustris est quam Medea Ovidii aut Varii Thyestes.

Ac ne fortunam quidem vatum et illud felix contu- 13
bernium comparare timuerim cum inquieta et anxia oratorum vita. Licet illos certamina et pericula sua 2
ad consulatus evexerint, malo securum et quietum Vergilii secessum, in quo tamen neque apud divum

7. **Ciceronis**, etc.: Homer and Demosthenes, the greatest poet and orator of the Greeks, are compared with Vergil and Cicero, the greatest literary representatives of the Romans; so Euripides and Sophocles, Lysias and Hyperides, writers of less eminence from Maternus's point of view, are compared with Roman authors of corresponding grade. — **Vergilii detrectent**: cf. Donatus *Vita Verg.* 43 *obtrectatores Vergilio numquam defuerunt.* — **Asinii**: C. Asinius Pollio, the friend and patron of Vergil. He served in the Civil War, and was subsequently consul, but soon afterwards withdrew from public life and devoted himself to literary pursuits, oratory, history, and poetry, in all of which he gained distinction. He originated the custom of public recitations of new literary productions. See 9. 6 n. Vergil's fourth Eclogue is addressed to him, and his praises are also sung by Horace *Odes* II. 1; cf. also Quint. X. 1. 113 *multa in Asinio Pollione inventio, summa diligentia.* — **Messalla**: M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus; he fought on the side of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, but later attached himself to Octavianus, by whom he was honored with various public offices; cf. Quint. X. 1. 113 *Messalla nitidus et candidus et quodam modo praeferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam, viribus minor.* — **liber**: *i.e.* a published speech, as often in the *Dialogus.* The usage is post-Augustan. — **Medea Ovidii aut Varii Thyestes**: Quintilian, X. 1. 98, speaks briefly of both these dramas, which were extant in his day, but have since disappeared: *Varii Thyestes cuilibet Graecarum comparari potest, Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum ille vir praestare potuerit, si ingenio suo imperare quam indulgere maluisset.* — **Varii**: L. Varius Rufus, noted as an epic and tragic poet. He was a friend of Vergil and Horace. The latter frequently speaks of him, *e.g.* in *Sat.* I. 5. 40 *Plotius et Varius Sinuessae Vergiliusque occurrunt, animae quales non candidiores terra tulit.*

13. **ne fortunam quidem**: cf. chapter 9, where Aper pictures in glowing colors the good fortune of the orator. — **contubernium**: here probably of communion with nature or the Muses; cf. 6, and for the figurative use of **contubernium** see 5. 2 n.

2. **licet evexerint**: concessive. — **Vergilii secessum**: according to tradition Vergil in his last years retired to a villa near Naples on the Hill of Posilipo, where his tomb is still pointed out.

Augustum gratia caruit neque apud populum Romanum
3 notitia. Testes Augusti epistulae, testis ipse populus, qui auditis in theatro Vergilii versibus surrexit universus et forte praesentem spectantemque Vergilium veneratus
4 est sic quasi Augustum. Ne nostris quidem temporibus Secundus Pomponius Afro Domitio vel dignitate vitae
5 vel perpetuitate famae cesserit. Nam Crispus iste et Marcellus, ad quorum exempla me vocas, quid habent in hac sua fortuna concupiscendum? Quod timent an quod timentur? Quod, cum cottidie aliquid rogentur, ii quibus non praestant indignantur? Quod adligati omni adulatione nec imperantibus umquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi? Quae haec summa
6 eorum potentia est? Tantum posse liberti solent. Me vero dulces, ut Vergilius ait, Musae remotum a sollici-

3. **auditis versibus**: Donatus, *Vita Verg.* 26, and Servius, on *Ecl.* 6. 11, state that Vergil's Eclogues were frequently recited in the theatres. — **universus,** *in a body.* — **Vergilium**: the repetition of the name where we naturally expect a pronoun is not infrequent in Tacitus; cf. *Ann.* XII. 64 *perdita prius Domitia Lepida muliebribus causis, quia Lepida,* etc. — **veneratus est**: an honor usually reserved for the Emperor and the members of his family.

4. **Secundus Pomponius Afro Domitio**: the former a tragic poet highly rated by Quintilian, of whom he was a contemporary; cf. Quint. X. 1. 98 *eorum tragicorum quos viderim longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem senes parum tragicum putabant, eruditione ac nitore praestare confitebantur.* Domitius Afer was one of the most distinguished orators of his day. He died in Nero's reign, 59 A.D. Quintilian says of him, X. 1. 118 *eorum quos viderim Domitius Afer et Iulius Africanus longe prestantissimi.* For the transposition of *nomen* and *cognomen* see 1. 1 n.

5. **quid habent concupiscendum,** *what do they possess that is worthy of being coveted?* — **quod timent**: sc. *principem.* — **quod timentur**: sc. *a ceteris.* — **adligati omni adulatione**: literally *bound by all sorts of flattery, i.e.* feeling obliged to bestow it. — **tantum posse liberti solent,** *freedmen are wont to be as powerful* (*as they are*), *i.e.* they have no more real power than the *liberti,* or imperial favorites, who maintained their positions only by fawning and servility. With **liberti** understand *principis.*

6. **me vero dulces Musae,** etc.: *Georg.* II. 475 *me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae accipiant.*

tudinibus et curis et necessitate cottidie aliquid contra animum faciendi in illa sacra illosque fontes ferant, nec insanum ultra et lubricum forum famamque pallentem trepidus experiar. Non me fremitus salutantium nec 7
anhelans libertus excitet, nec incertus futuri testamentum pro pignore scribam, nec plus habeam quam quod possim cui velim relinquere quandoque fatalis meus dies veniet; statuarque tumulo non maestus et atrox, sed 8
hilaris et coronatus, et pro memoria mei nec consulat quisquam nec roget.'

Vixdum finierat Maternus, concitatus et velut instin- 14
ctus, cum Vipstanus Messalla cubiculum eius ingressus

— **sacra**: here apparently in the sense of *sacred spots;* cf. *Ann.* I. 79 *qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint.* — **nec**: frequent in post-Augustan writers for *neve.* — **insanum et lubricum forum**: cf. Verg. *Georg.* II. 501 *nec ferrea iura insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vidit.* **lubricum** refers to the uncertainties of forensic success. — **famam pallentem**: *i.e.* fame that makes its followers pale; cf. Hor. *Odes,* I. 4. 13 *pallida mors.*

7. **non me**, *not me* may the, etc. — **anhelans libertus**: probably some imperial freedman sent in haste on important business. — **incertus futuri**, etc.: 'may I never be compelled to make the Emperor a co-heir, as a guarantee that my will shall not be broken and the property confiscated.' Under Nero and Domitian the precaution referred to was both common and necessary; cf. *Agr.* 43 *satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore iudicioque. Tam caeca et corrupta mens adsiduis adulationibus erat ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.* — **quandoque**, *whenever.* — **fatalis meus dies**, *my destined day, my final summons.* Cf. C. I. L. I. 1009 *properavit hora tristis fatalis mea.*

8. **statuar**: *i.e.* may my statue be placed; cf. Cic., *pro Arch.* 22 *in sepulcro Scipionum putatur is* (*Ennius*) *esse constitutus ex marmore.* — **tumulo**: *i.e. in tumulo;* Gr. 207, 3. — **coronatus**: sc. *lauro,* as a poet. — **consulat**: sc. *senatum.* — **roget**: sc. *principem.* The reference, apparently, is to the erection of a statue in some public place, as opposed to a bust or statue on the tomb. This honor was dependent upon official action of the Senate or Emperor.

14. finierat: for this intransitive use cf. 42. 1 *finierat Maternus.* — **instinctus**: sc. *divino spiritu;* cf. Quint. XII. 10. 24 *instinctis divino spiritu vatibus.* — **Vipstanus Messalla**: he had served as military tribune in the struggle

est, suspicatusque ex ipsa intentione singulorum altiorem
2 inter eos esse sermonem, 'Num parum tempestivus' inquit 'interveni secretum consilium et causae alicuius meditationem tractantibus?'

3 'Minime, minime' inquit Secundus, 'atque adeo vellem maturius intervenisses; delectasset enim te et Apri nostri accuratissimus sermo, cum Maternum, ut omne ingenium ac studium suum ad causas agendas converteret, exhortatus est, et Materni pro carminibus suis laeta utque poetas defendi decebat, ardentior et poetarum quam oratorum similior oratio.'

4 'Me vero' inquit 'sermo iste infinita voluptate adfecisset, atque id ipsum delectat, quod vos, viri optimi et optimi temporum nostrorum oratores, non forensibus tantum negotiis et declamatorio studio ingenia vestra exercetis, sed eius modi etiam disputationes adsumitis, quae et ingenium alunt et eruditionis ac litterarum iucundissimum oblectamentum cum vobis, qui ista disputatis, adferunt, tum etiam iis ad quorum aures
5 pervenerint. Itaque hercle non minus probari video in te, Secunde, quod Iulii Africani vitam componendo spem hominibus fecisti plurium eius modi librorum,

between Vespasian and Vitellius in 69 A.D. Subsequently he wrote an account of his campaigns, and is cited by Tacitus as one of the latter's sources for Book III of the *Histories*. His greatest fame, however, was as an orator; cf. *Hist.* IV. 42 *magnam eloquentiae famam Vipstanus Messalla adeptus est.*— **altiorem sermonem,** *important discussion;* cf. *Hist.* IV. 5 *altiora studia;* Quint. III. 8. 42 *altior quaestio.*

3. **oratio,** as contrasted with **sermo,** implies a loftier style and choicer diction. — **cum exhortatus est**: the *cum*-clause is here "explicative," being equivalent to a clause in apposition with **sermo.** See Gildersleeve, 583.

4. **ingenium alunt**: cf. Cic. *Brut.* 126. — **pervenerint**: future perfect ind., *adferent* being understood with the *tum*-clause.

5. **Iuli Africani**: an eminent orator of the reign of Nero. Quintilian, X. 1. 118, places him by the side of the famous Domitius Afer;

quam in Apro, quod nondum ab scholasticis contro-
versiis recessit et otium suum mavult novorum rhetorum
more quam veterum oratorum consumere.'

Tum Aper: 'Non desinis, Messalla, vetera tantum 15
et antiqua mirari, nostrorum autem temporum studia
inridere atque contemnere. Nam hunc tuum sermonem
saepe excepi, cum oblitus et tuae et fratris tui eloquen-
tiae neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes;
atque id eo, credo, audacius, quod malignitatis opinio- 2
nem non verebaris, cum eam gloriam, quam tibi alii
concedunt, ipse tibi denegares.'

'Neque illius' inquit 'sermonis mei paenitentiam 3
ago, neque aut Secundum aut Maternum aut te ipsum,
Aper, quamquam interdum in contrarium disputes, aliter
sentire credo. Ac velim impetratum ab aliquo vestrum, 4
ut causas huius infinitae differentiae scrutetur ac reddat,
quas mecum ipse plerumque conquiro. Et quod qui- 5

cf. 13. 4 n. — **quam in Apro**: sc. *probari; i.e.* Secundus and Aper both met with approval,— Secundus among those who, like Messalla, sympathized with his literary pursuits, Aper among those who, unlike Messalla, thought the oratorical training of the day superior to that of former times. The reference to Aper, accordingly, is a sly bit of irony on the part of Messalla. — **scholasticis controversiis**: concerning these see chapter 35. *Scholasticus* is a post-Augustan word.

15. excepi: equivalent to *audivi*, as in 1. 5; cf. 34. 2 *altercationes exciperet.* — **neminem oratorem**: possibly another instance of *nemo* for *nullus*, as in 12. 5. — **fratris tui**: M. Aquilius Regulus, one of the worst of the *delatores* under Nero, and later under Domitian. Pliny in his Epistles speaks of him in terms of the greatest contempt, yet no one ever denied his great ability. He was probably brother of Messalla only on the mother's side.— **opinionem**, *reputation.* — **non verebaris**, *had no need to fear.*

3. paenitentiam ago: post-Augustan for *me paenitet;* cf. Quint. IX. 3. 12 *non acturo paenitentiam.* — **quamquam disputes**: the subjv. with *quamquam* is also post-Augustan and usual in Tacitus, though the ind. occurs.

4. velim impetratum, etc.: 'I would like to induce one of you.' This employment of the perfect passive participle is common in Cicero, but occurs in Tacitus only here. — **scrutetur ac reddat**, *examine and report.* — **plerumque**:

busdam solacio est, mihi auget quaestionem, quia video etiam Graecis accidisse, ut longius absit ab Aeschine et Demosthene Sacerdos ille Nicetes et si quis alius Ephesum vel Mytilenas concentu scholasticorum et clamoribus quatit, quam Afer aut Africanus aut nos ipsi a Cicerone aut Asinio recessimus.'

16 'Magnam' inquit Secundus 'et dignam tractatu quaestionem movisti. Sed quis eam iustius explicabit quam tu, ad cuius summam eruditionem et praestantissimum ingenium cura quoque et meditatio accessit?'

2 Et Messalla 'Aperiam' inquit 'cogitationes meas, si illud a vobis ante impetravero, ut vos quoque sermonem hunc nostrum adiuvetis.'

3 'Pro duobus' inquit Maternus 'promitto; nam et ego et Secundus exsequemur eas partes, quas intellexerimus te non tam omisisse quam nobis reliquisse.
4 Aprum enim solere dissentire et tu paullo ante dixisti et ipse satis manifestus est iam dudum in contrarium accingi nec aequo animo perferre hanc nostram pro antiquorum laude concordiam.'

equivalent to *persaepe*, as usually in Tacitus.

5. **quia video**: 'the fact that, as I see.' Tacitus occasionally employs *quia* for *quod* to introduce a substantive clause, *e.g.* *Ann.* II. 43 *Germanico alienatio patrui amorem apud ceteros auxerat et quia claritudine materni generis anteibat.* — **etiam Graecis accidisse**, etc.: the writer's desire for brevity has prevented the logical expression of the thought, viz., that the same experience has befallen the Greeks, and even in a greater degree. — **Sacerdos ille Nicetes**: a rhetorician of Smyrna. He taught in Rome, and was the instructor of the younger Pliny. See Pliny *Ep.* VI. 6. 3 *quos tunc ego frequentabam, Quintilianum, Niceten Sacerdotem.* — **Ephesum, Mytilenas**: in the time of Augustus Mytilenae was the more famous school of the two. — **concentu scholasticorum et clamoribus**, *by the loud applause of his pupils. Scholasticus* is elsewhere *teacher of rhetoric*, *e.g.* 26. 11. — **Asinio**: see 12. 7 n.

16. **quaestionem movisti**: cf. 25. 1 *nominis controversiam movit.*

4. **ipse manifestus est accingi**, etc.: a Grecism for *manifestum est ipsum accingi nec perferre.*

'Non enim' inquit Aper 'inauditum et indefensum 5
saeculum nostrum patiar hac vestra conspiratione
damnari. Sed hoc primum interrogabo, quos vocetis 6
antiquos, quam oratorum aetatem significatione ista
determinetis. Ego enim cum audio antiquos, quosdam 7
veteres et olim natos intellego, ac mihi versantur ante
oculos Vlixes ac Nestor, quorum aetas mille fere et
trecentis annis saeculum nostrum antecedit; vos autem 8
Demosthenem et Hyperidem profertis, quos satis constat
Philippi et Alexandri temporibus floruisse, ita tamen ut
utrique superstites essent. Ex quo apparet non multo 9
plures quam trecentos annos interesse inter nostram et
Demosthenis aetatem: quod spatium temporis si ad 10
infirmitatem corporum nostrorum referas, fortasse longum videatur; si ad naturam saeculorum ac respectum
immensi huius aevi, perquam breve et in proximo est.
Nam si, ut Cicero in Hortensio scribit, is est magnus 11

5. **non enim**: 'quite true, for I do not propose, etc.'—**inauditum**: *without a hearing;* in this sense not found before Tacitus. The phrase *inauditus et indefensus* was perhaps a regular legal formula; it occurs also in *Hist.* I. 6; II. 10; *Ann.* II. 77.

7. **audio antiquos**: *hear the word ancients.* — **Vlixes ac Nestor**: the most famous orators of the Homeric age. — **mille fere et trecentis annis**: Eratosthenes set 1183 B.C. as the date of the fall of Troy. From then until the time of the *Dialogus* (75 A.D.) would be 1258 years, — in round numbers 1300.

8. **utrique**: viz. Demosthenes and Hyperides. For the plural cf. *Ann.* XI. 1 *utrisque accusandis; Ger.* 34. — **superstites**: sc. *Philippo et Alexandro.*

9. **non multo plures quam trecentos annos**: Demosthenes and Hyperides died in 322 B.C., so that the interval was really one of nearly 400 years. But Aper is anxious to put the case as strongly as possible, and so chooses the smaller number. Lipsius emended the *trecentos* of the MSS. to *quadringentos,* understanding *aetatem* to refer to the period of Demosthenes's activity, not to the date of his death.

10. **ad respectum immensi huius aevi**: pleonastic, for *ad immensum hoc aevum.* — **perquam breve et in proximo est**: the expression is zeugmatic. The *spatium* is *short,* but it is the *aetas Demosthenis* which is *near at hand.*

11. **in Hortensio**: a lost treatise of Cicero written in defense of

et verus annus, quo eadem positio caeli siderumque, quae cum maxime est, rursum exsistet, isque annus horum quos nos vocamus annorum $\overline{\text{XII}}$DCCCCLIIII complectitur, incipit Demosthenes vester, quem vos veterem et antiquum fingitis, non solum eodem anno
17 quo nos, sed iam eodem mense exstitisse. Sed transeo ad Latinos oratores, in quibus non Menenium, ut puto, Agrippam, qui potest videri antiquus, nostrorum temporum disertis anteponere soletis, sed Ciceronem et Caesarem et Caelium et Calvum et Brutum et Asinium
2 et Messallam; quos quid antiquis temporibus potius adscribatis quam nostris, non video. Nam ut de Cicerone ipso loquar, Hirtio nempe et Pansa consulibus, ut Tiro libertus eius scripsit, septimo idus Decembres

philosophy. It was dedicated to the orator Hortensius; cf. Cic. *de Fin.* I. 2 *eo libro quo a nobis philosophia defensa et collaudata est, cum esset accusata et vituperata ab Hortensio.* — **magnus et verus annus**: called the Platonic year, the period required for the sun, moon, and the five planets known to the ancients, to return to the same relative positions which they occupy at any given time. See Cic. *Nat. D.* II. 51. Modern mathematicians reckon the period at over 25,000 years, — twice that given by Tacitus.— **cum maxime**, *just now.*— **incipit Demosthenes vester**: 'then you begin to see that your Demosthenes.' — **veterem et antiquum**: for the synonyms see 7 above and 1. 4 n.

17. Menenium Agrippam: consul 503 B.C. By telling the fable of The Belly and the Members he induced the plebeians, who had seceded to the Mons Sacer, to return to Rome. — **Caelium**: M. Caelius Rufus, 82–48 B.C., famed as an orator and advocate. He was a friend of Cicero, by whom he was defended in the extant oration, *pro Caelio.* — **Calvum**: Gaius Licinius Calvus, 82–47 B.C., a rival of Cicero, noted also as a poet and the friend of Catullus. — **Brutum**: the conspirator, 95–42 B.C. On his oratory see 21. 10. — **Asinium, Messallam**: see 12. 7 n. — **quid**, *why;* rarely so used in indirect questions.

2. Hirtio et Pansa consulibus: 43 B.C. In the case of well-known consuls the *praenomen* may be omitted; the names are then connected by *et* or *que.* — **Tiro**: M. Tullius Tiro, the freedman and attached friend of Cicero, whose biography he also wrote. — **scripsit**: common usage would here require *scribit;* cf. 16. 11. Perhaps it is used in the sense *has written.* — **septimo Idus Decembres**: *i.e. septimo die ante Idus Decembres* (Dec. 7th).

occisus est, quo anno divus Augustus in locum Pansae
et Hirtii se et Q. Pedium consules suffecit. Statue 3
sex et quinquaginta annos, quibus mox divus Augustus
rem publicam rexit, adice Tiberii tres et viginti, et prope
quadriennium Gai, ac bis quaternos denos Claudii et
Neronis annos, atque illum Galbae et Othonis et Vitellii
longum et unum annum, ac sextam iam felicis huius
principatus stationem, quo Vespasianus rem publicam
fovet: centum et viginti anni ab interitu Ciceronis in
hunc diem colliguntur, unius hominis aetas. Nam ipse 4
ego in Britannia vidi senem, qui se fatebatur ei pugnae
interfuisse qua Caesarem inferentem arma Britanni et

3. **quibus**: here denoting duration, — a construction originating in the colloquial language, and afterwards adopted in literature. — **mox** = *deinde*, — a common meaning in post-Augustan writers. — **Tiberii tres et viginti**: from August, 14 A.D. to March, 37 A.D. — **Gai**: Caligula, who reigned from March, 37 A.D. to January, 41 A.D. — **bis quaternos denos Claudii et Neronis annos**: from January, 41 A.D. to June, 68 A.D. — **longum et unum annum**: from the accession of Galba in June, 68 A.D. to the proclamation of Vespasian as Emperor in July, 69 A.D.; **longum** is used in the sense of *eventful*. — **sextam iam**: 74 or 75 A.D.; see Intr. p. xiv. — **stationem**: here apparently in the sense of *year*, a figurative use occurring nowhere else. — **centum et viginti anni**: from December, 43 B.C. to the end of 74 A.D. or the beginning of 75 A.D. could not at the most be more than 116 full years; but Aper refers to the period of 120 years for a special purpose, viz., because it was regarded by the Romans as the utmost limit of human life (**unius hominis aetas**). See Trebellius Pollio *Vita Claud.* 2 *doctissimi mathematicorum centum et viginti annos homini ad vivendum datos iudicant, neque amplius cuiquam iactitant esse concessos;* Servius on Verg. *Aen.* IV. 653 *natura, cui ultra centum et viginti solstitiales annos concessum non est;* cf. Pliny *N. H.* VII. 154 *Arganthonium octoginta annos regnasse prope certum est. Putant quadragesimo coepisse;* Cic. *de Sen.* 69 *Quid est in hominis vita diu? Da enim supremum tempus; fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gadibus, qui octoginta regnaverat annos, centum viginti vixerat.* Aper's point, therefore, is that the sum total of the reigns enumerated *does not exceed* 120 years, the utmost limit of human existence. — **in hunc diem**: *i.e.* to the present time. — **colliguntur**, *are made out.* In this sense the word is post-Augustan and rare; cf. *Ger.* 37 *ducenti et ferme decem anni colliguntur.*

4. **fatebatur**: post-Augustan for *dicebat.* — **ei pugnae**: viz., in

5 arcere litoribus et pellere adgressi sunt. Ita si eum
qui armatus C. Caesari restitit vel captivitas vel volun-
tas vel fatum aliquod in urbem pertraxisset, et Cae-
sarem quidem ipsum et Ciceronem audire potuit et
6 nostris quoque actionibus interesse. Proximo quidem
congiario ipsi vidistis plerosque senes, qui se a divo
quoque Augusto semel atque iterum accepisse con-
giarium narrabant. Ex quo colligi potest et Corvinum
ab illis et Asinium audiri potuisse [nam Corvinus in
medium usque Augusti principatum, Asinius paene ad
extremum duravit], ne dividatis saeculum et antiquos
ac veteres vocitetis oratores, quos eorundem hominum
aures adgnoscere ac velut coniungere et copulare potue-
runt

18 Haec ideo praedixi, ut, si qua ex horum oratorum
fama gloriaque laus temporibus adquiritur, eam docerem
in medio sitam et propiorem nobis quam Servio Galbae
aut C. Laelio aut C. Carboni quosque alios merito anti-

the first invasion, 55 B.C. See Caes. *B. G.* IV. 23 ff. — **pellere**: here for *depellere*, the simple verb for the compound; cf. 19. 1 *flexisse* (for *deflexisse*), 30. 8 *cluditur* (for *includitur*).

5. **ita**: for *itaque*, as 34. 5; 36. 8. — **Caesarem ipsum**: *i.e.* the very Caesar against whom he had fought in Britain. — **actionibus**: post-Augustan for *orationibus*. So also 32. 5.

6. **proximo congiario**: such a donation had been given in 73 A.D. in the name of Titus.— **divo quoque Augusto**: *i.e.* as well as recently. On the position of *quoque* cf. *Ann.* XIV. 20 *Gnaeum quoque Pompeium*.— **in medium usque**, etc.: see App.— **ne dividatis**: before these words supply in thought: 'This I say.' — **antiquos ac veteres**, etc.: literally *lest you call those orators old and ancient, whom the ears of the same generation* (**eorundem**) *might have joined and united* (with the present).

18. praedixi, *premised;* in this sense ante-classical and post-Augustan. — **temporibus**: dat.; *for their age*. — **in medio sitam**: *i.e.* belonging to the following (or present) generation, as well as to the preceding. — **Servio Galbae**: consul 144 B.C., the foremost orator of his day. Cicero, *de Or.* I. 40, says of him, *divinum hominem in dicendo*.— **C. Laelio**: the well-known friend of the younger Scipio. He was consul 140 B.C. Cicero, *Brut.* 83, characterizes his oratory.—**C. Carboni**: consul 120 B.C. See 34. 8 n.

quos vocaverimus; sunt enim horridi et impoliti et 2
rudes et informes et quos utinam nulla parte imitatus esset Calvus vester aut Caelius aut ipse Cicero. Agere enim fortius iam et audentius volo, si illud ante praedixero, mutari cum temporibus formas quoque et genera
dicendi. Sic Catoni seni comparatus C. Gracchus 3
plenior et uberior, sic Graccho politior et ornatior Crassus, sic utroque distinctior et urbanior et altior Cicero, Cicerone mitior Corvinus et dulcior et in verbis
magis elaboratus. Nec quaero quis disertissimus; hoc 4
interim probasse contentus sum, non esse unum eloquentiae vultum, sed in illis quoque quos vocatis antiquos plures species deprehendi, nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est, vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera
semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio esse. Num 5

2. **agere enim fortius volo, etc.**: 'I wish to speak out (lit. *act*) more vigorously presently, after first premising, etc.' Aper here announces the attack which he is proposing to make upon the orators of the Ciceronian age (see the next chapter). First, however, he wishes to explain that modern oratory is but the legitimate outgrowth of the earlier, — not an inferior product.—**illud**: explained by **mutari**, etc. — **si ante praedixero**: pleonastic, as 28. 4, *si prius pauca praedixero*. In both passages *si* possesses a temporal rather than a conditional force.

3. **Catoni**: Cato the Elder, or the Censor, consul 195 B.C. He was the first Roman to publish his speeches. Cicero was acquainted with over one hundred and fifty of these, and in *Brut.* 61 calls Cato the best of the early orators.— **C. Gracchus**: the famous popular agitator. He was *tribunus plebis* 123 and 122 B.C. Cicero, *Brut.* 125, characterizes him in the same language as that here employed by Tacitus, *noli enim putare quemquam pleniorem et uberiorem ad dicendum fuisse.*— **Crassus**: consul 95 B.C.; distinguished both for his learning and the perfection of his style. — **distinctior**, *clearer*.— **elaboratus**: of persons only here.

4. **quis disertissimus**: for the omission of the verb cf. *Germ.* 9 *unde causa et origo parum comperi.* — **interim**: *i.e.* for the time being.—**probasse contentus sum**: see Intr. p. xx. — **vultum**, *type*.—**nec statim**: *i.e.* we are not immediately to conclude that a thing is inferior, etc.

5. **num dubitamus inventos**: *i.e.* in the time of Cato. *Dubitare* in this sense, when combined with a negative, is usually followed in the Ciceronian age by a *quin*-clause. The use of the inf. is not frequent

dubitamus inventos, qui prae Catone Appium Caecum magis mirarentur? Satis constat ne Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse, quibus inflatus et tumens nec satis pressus, sed supra modum exsultans et superfluens
6 et parum Atticus videretur. Legistis utique et Calvi et Bruti ad Ciceronem missas epistulas, ex quibus facile est deprehendere, Calvum quidem Ciceroni visum exsanguem et aridum, Brutum autem otiosum atque diiun-
7 ctum; rursusque Ciceronem a Calvo quidem male audisse tamquam solutum et enervem, a Bruto autem, ut ipsius
8 verbis utar, tamquam fractum atque elumbem. Si me interroges, omnes mihi videntur verum dixisse; sed mox ad singulos veniam, nunc mihi cum universis negotium est.

19 Nam (quatenus antiquorum admiratores hunc velut

till the post-Augustan period. — **prae Catone magis**: the redundancy arises from a combination of two forms of expression: *prae Catone* and *Catone magis*. — **Appium Caecum**: Appius Claudius Caecus, consul 307 B.C. In Cicero's time the speech was still extant by which Appius had induced the Senate to reject the terms of peace proposed by Pyrrhus in 280 B.C.— **inflatus et tumens**: these criticisms on Cicero's style are referred to by Quintilian, XII. 10. 12, in similar language, *tumidiorem et redundantem et in repetitionibus nimium*. — **pressus**, *concise*, as in 2. 4. — **exsultans**, *diffuse*. So Quintilian, XII. 10. 12. — **parum Atticus**: the Romans distinguished three schools of oratory, the Attic, the Asiatic, and the Rhodian. Cicero was classed with the last. The Attic style was concise, the Asiatic redundant, while the Rhodian represented a compromise between the two.

6. Calvi et Bruti epistulas: these letters have not come down to us.— **aridum**: cf. *de Or.* II. 159 *genus sermonis exile, aridum*. — **otiosum**: in this sense frequently applied to *sermo* (*idle talk*), but here transferred to the speaker to characterize one who indulges in trite and superfluous assertions.

7. a Calvo male audisse, *was criticised by Calvus*; cf. the Greek κακῶς ἀκούειν ὑπό τινος. — **tamquam**, *as being*. See 2. 1 n. — **fractum atque elumbem**, *feeble and lame*. *Elumbis* is not elsewhere found.

19. nam: introducing the reason for the statement made at the close of the preceding chapter, *omnes mihi videntur verum dixisse*. — **quatenus** = *quoniam*. See 5. 3 n. — **admiratores**: a post-Augustan word. — **hunc terminum**:

terminum antiquitatis constituere solent) Cassium Severum, quem primum adfirmant flexisse ab illa vetere atque directa dicendi via, non infirmitate ingenii nec inscitia litterarum transtulisse se ad aliud dicendi genus contendo, sed iudicio et intellectu. Vidit nam- 2
que, ut paulo ante dicebam, cum condicione temporum et diversitate aurium formam quoque ac speciem orationis esse mutandam. Facile perferebat prior ille 3
populus ut imperitus et rudis impeditissimarum orationum spatia, atque id ipsum laudabat, si dicendo quis diem eximeret. Iam vero longa principiorum prae- 4
paratio et narrationis alte repetita series et multarum divisionum ostentatio et mille argumentorum gradus et quidquid aliud aridissimis Hermagorae et Apollodori libris praecipitur, in honore erat; quod si quis odoratus

viz. Cassius Severus. — **Cassium Severum**: he lived from about 50 B.C. to 37 A.D. Though of low origin and without principle, he possessed brilliant oratorical gifts. By abandoning the manner of his predecessors and adopting a more ornate style of oratory he marked an epoch in the history of Roman eloquence.—**flexisse**: here neuter, and in the sense of *deflexisse*. See 17.4 n. — **intellectu**, *insight*. The word is post-Augustan. Earlier writers use *intellegentia*.

2. **namque**: not used as a postpositive particle until the Augustan era. — **aurium**, *taste*.

3. **impeditissimarum**, *cumbrous*, *i.e.* long and tedious.— **spatia**: in pregnant sense, = *magna spatia*. — **si dicendo quis diem eximeret**: cf. Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* II. 1. 3 *Clodius dicendo diem eximere coepit*. These long speeches were often intended to delay legislative action by protracting a meeting till sunset, at which hour an adjournment was necessary. On the subjv. of 'indefinite repetition' in **eximeret**, see Gr. 311, 5. So also below **videretur** and **insereret**.

4. **iam vero**, *moreover*.— **longa principiorum praeparatio**, *long preparatory introductions*. — **narrationis alte repetita series**: 'the thread of a story running far back.' — **mille argumentorum gradus**, *a thousand steps to the argument*.— **Hermagorae**: there were two rhetoricians of this name. One was a contemporary of Cicero, and the author of a system of rhetorical instruction which enjoyed great repute. The other lived under Augustus. It is the former, probably, who is here referred to. —**Apollodori**: a distinguished rhetorician of Pergamum, and the teacher of the young Octavius. — **odoratus**: sc. *esse*, *to have got a whiff of*, *i.e.* a smattering. The word occurs only

philosophiam videretur atque ex ea locum aliquem orationi suae insereret, in caelum laudibus ferebatur.
5 Nec mirum; erant enim haec nova et incognita, et ipsorum quoque oratorum paucissimi praecepta rhetorum
6 aut philosophorum placita cognoverant. At hercule pervulgatis iam omnibus, cum vix in cortina quisquam adsistat quin elementis studiorum etsi non instructus, at certe imbutus sit, novis et exquisitis eloquentiae itineribus opus est, per quae orator fastidium aurium effugiat, utique apud eos iudices qui vi et potestate, non iure et legibus cognoscunt nec accipiunt tempora, sed constituunt, nec exspectandum habent oratorem, dum illi libeat de ipso negotio dicere, sed saepe ultro admonent atque alio transgredientem revocant et festi-
20 nare se testantur. Quis nunc feret oratorem de infirmitate valetudinis suae praefantem, qualia sunt fere principia Corvini? Quis quinque in Verrem libros

here in this sense. — **locum**: (sc. *communem*), *commonplace*. *Loci communes* are passages which do not deal with arguments peculiar to an individual case, but are of general application; cf. Cic. *de Inv.* II. 47 *pars (argumentorum) est pervagatior et aut in omnis eiusdem generis aut in plerasque causas accommodata; haec ergo argumenta, quae transferri in multas causas possunt, locos communis nominamus; de Or.* III. 107; Quint. II. 1. 9.

5. **haec**: *i.e.* the various rhetorical refinements above enumerated.

6. **cortina**: lit. *a vessel, cauldron*, here apparently used of some place where the general public gathered to witness trials. Some refer it to the curved apse of a basilica or law court. — **itineribus**, *methods*. In this sense pre-Augustan writers usually employ *via*, not *iter*, *e.g.* Cic. *Or.* 114 *duplicem habuit docendi viam.* — **cognoscunt**: here used absolutely of judicial procedure. So also 41. 6 *clementia cognoscentis; Hist.* IV. 42 *cognosceret senatus;* Pliny *Ep.* I. 10. 10. — **accipiunt**: *i.e.* the judges do not follow the speaker's wishes as to the extent of time to be granted, but determine it (constituunt) themselves. — **dum illi libeat**, etc.: 'until he gets ready to come to the point.' — **ultro admonent**: 'take occasion to remind him'; cf. 39. 4 *quia saepe iudex interrogat quando incipias.* — **alio transgredientem**: conative, *attempting to digress.* — **festinare**: used absolutely.

20. **principia Corvini**: Quintilian also mentions such *exordia* (IV. 1 8), yet commends them as

exspectabit? Quis de exceptione et formula perpetietur
illa inmensa volumina, quae pro M. Tullio aut Aulo
Caecina legimus? Praecurrit hoc tempore iudex dicen- 2
tem et, nisi aut cursu argumentorum aut colore senten-
tiarum aut nitore et cultu descriptionum vitiatus et
corruptus est, aversatur. Vulgus quoque adsistentium 3
et adfluens et vagus auditor adsuevit iam exigere laeti-
tiam et pulchritudinem orationis, nec magis perfert in
iudiciis tristem et impexam antiquitatem quam si quis
in scaena Q. Roscii aut Turpionis Ambivii exprimere
gestus velit. Iam vero iuvenes et in ipsa studiorum 4

well-advised. — **quinque in Verrem libros exspectabit,** *will hear to the end five speeches against a Verres;* alluding to the five speeches of the so-called *actio secunda* of Cicero against Verres. These were in reality never delivered, since Verres withdrew into voluntary exile at the conclusion of the *actio prima*. Cicero, nevertheless, published the orations as though they had been delivered before the judges; hence their length probably did not exceed the usual standard. — **de exceptione et formula:** *formula* was the name of the formal instructions given by the praetor to the judge who tried a case. For a given class of cases the same standing *formula* was regularly employed. But exception (*exceptio*) might be taken to the *formula* by the accused, if circumstances could be shown to warrant such a procedure; *de exceptione et formula* is, therefore, a hendiadys, 'long pleas on exceptions to the instructions.' — **pro M. Tullio:** Cicero delivered two speeches *pro M. Tullio*. Only fragments remain. — **Aulo Caecina:** this oration is preserved, and is only a half longer than the oration for the Manilian Law.

2. praecurrit dicentem, *anticipates the speaker.* For the use of the participle as substantive see 6. 6 n. — **hoc tempore,** *to-day.* — **cursu:** in pregnant sense, *rapid progress.* Note the assyllabation in *cursu, colore, cultu, corruptus.* — **sententiarum:** see 5 n. — **descriptionum,** *delineations, characterizations;* cf. Cic. *Topica* 83 *descriptio, quam χαρακτῆρα Graeci vocant, qualis sit avarus, qualis adsentator, ceteraque eiusdem generis, in quibus natura describitur.*

3. adsistentium: *i.e. audientium.* — **adfluens et vagus,** *coming and going.* — **impexam,** *uncouth.* — **Q. Roscii:** the famous comedian, a friend of Cicero, who defended him 76 B.C. in the oration *pro Q. Roscio comoedo.* — **Turpionis Ambivii:** another eminent comic actor and theatrical manager. He was intimately associated with the poet Terence (about 165 B.C.) and assisted him in bringing out his plays. — **exprimere,** *imitate.* So also 23. 1; 26. 3.

4. iuvenes et . . . positi: only one class of persons is referred to.

incude positi, qui profectus sui causa oratores sectantur, non solum audire, sed etiam referre domum aliquid
5 inlustre et dignum memoria volunt; traduntque in vicem ac saepe in colonias ac provincias suas scribunt, sive sensus aliquis arguta et brevi sententia effulsit
6 sive locus exquisito et poetico cultu enituit. Exigitur enim iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor, non Accii aut Pacuvii veterno inquinatus, sed ex Horatii et Vergilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus. Horum igitur auribus et iudiciis obtemperans nostrorum oratorum
7 aetas pulchrior et ornatior exstitit. Neque ideo minus efficaces sunt orationes nostrae, quia ad aures iudicantium cum voluptate perveniunt. Quid enim si infirmiora horum temporum templa credas, quia non rudi caemento et informibus tegulis exstruuntur, sed marmore nitent et auro radiantur?

The **et** is explanatory, and simply adds another characteristic; cf. 33. 3 *iuvenes iam et forum ingressuri.*— **in ipsa studiorum incude positi**: *i.e.* still engaged in their preparatory studies; cf. the figurative use of *incus* in Hor. *A. P.* 441 *et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.* — **profectus,** *proficiency. Profectus* as a prose word is post-Augustan. It is found also 41. 4.

5. **tradunt in vicem**: post-Augustan for *tradunt sibi* or *inter se;* cf. 25. 8. — **sensus,** *sentence, period;* a post-Augustan usage. — **arguta,** *bright, clever,* as frequently in Cicero's rhetorical works. — **sententia,** *sentiment.*

6. **Accii et Pacuvii**: famous Roman tragic poets. They flourished in the second century B.C. In their desire to imitate Greek diction they disfigured their works with many bold words, which soon became obsolete; hence the expression **veterno inquinatus,** *disfigured with the rubbish* (literally the *mould* or *rust*). *Veternus* in this sense is post-Augustan and rare. — **Lucani**: a nephew of Seneca, and the author of the *Pharsalia,* an unfinished epic on the second civil war. He lived from 39 to 65 A.D.

7. **quid enim,** etc., *for what would people say, if you should think,* etc.?—**rudi caemento,** *plain concrete.* — **marmore nitent et auro radiantur**: with the age of Augustus began an era of magnificent building. Augustus himself was wont to boast that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble. Suet. *Aug.* 28. After the conflagration in Nero's reign an era of still greater magnificence was inaugurated, whose glory was still undiminished at the time of the *Dialogus.*

Equidem fatebor vobis simpliciter me in quibusdam 21
antiquorum vix risum, in quibusdam autem vix somnum
tenere. Nec unum de populo nominabo, Canutium aut 2
Arrium vel Furnios et Toranios quosque alios in eodem
valetudinario haec ossa et haec macies probant. Ipse 3
mihi Calvus, cum unum et viginti, ut puto, libros
reliquerit, vix in una et altera oratiuncula satis facit.
Nec dissentire ceteros ab hoc meo iudicio video; quotus 4
enim quisque Calvi in Asitium aut in Drusum legit?
At hercle in omnium studiosorum manibus versantur 5
accusationes quae in Vatinium inscribuntur, ac prae-
cipue secunda ex his oratio; est enim verbis ornata et 6
sententiis, auribus iudicum accommodata, ut scias ipsum

21. **fatebor**: the future here for the present. This usage, which is not frequent, seems to be chiefly confined to the first singular of verbs of *saying*, *asking*, *replying*, etc., *e.g.* Cic. *de Domo* 18 *respondebo; pro Planco* 89 *fatebor.* — **quibusdam**: probably masculine.

2. **de populo**: *i.e.* from the horde of mediocre orators. — **Canutium**: probably the P. Canutius mentioned by Cicero in the oration *pro Cluentio.* Cicero, *Brut.* 205, speaks in high terms of his oratorical abilities.— **Arrium**: Q. Arrius, a contemporary of Cicero, and opposed to him in the trial of Milo, 52 B.C. Cicero, *Brut.* 243, characterizes him as *sine doctrina, sine ingenio.*— **Furnios**: the name C. Furnius was borne by two persons, father and son. The former was a friend of Cicero, and was *tribunus plebis* 50 B.C. The younger was consul 17 B.C. Both were orators. — **Toranios**: there were also two Toranii, father and son. The former was at one time guardian of Octavius; Suet. *Aug.* 27. — **in eodem valetudinario**: *sc. esse.* The expression is apparently proverbial; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 27. 1 *tamquam in eodem valetudinario iaceam.*— **haec ossa et haec macies**: *i.e.* this jejune and meagre style of composition. Latin writers are particularly fond of metaphors taken from the human body.

3. **libros**: published speeches, as in 12. 7. — **una et altera**, *one or two*; see 9. 6 n.

4. **quotus quisque**, *how few.*— **Calvi**: sc. *libros.* — **in Asitium aut in Drusum**: P. Asitius was prosecuted by Calvus on the charge of murdering an Egyptian ambassador, but was defended by Cicero and acquitted. The identity of Drusus is uncertain.

5. **at hercle**: these words introduce the opinion of an objector: 'But,' some one will urge, 'his speeches against Vatinius are much admired.' — **Vatinium**: P. Vatinius, a creature of Julius Caesar. He was prosecuted repeatedly by Calvus.

quoque Calvum intellexisse quid melius esset, nec volun-
tatem ei, quo minus sublimius et cultius diceret, sed
7 ingenium ac vires defuisse. Quid? Ex Caelianis ora-
tionibus nempe eae placent, sive universae sive partes
earum, in quibus nitorem et altitudinem horum tempo-
8 rum adgnoscimus. Sordes autem illae verborum et
hians compositio et inconditi sensus redolent antiqui-
9 tatem; nec quemquam adeo antiquarium puto ut
10 Caelium ex ea parte laudet qua antiquus est. Con-
cedamus sane C. Caesari ut propter magnitudinem
cogitationum et occupationes rerum minus in eloquentia
effecerit quam divinum eius ingenium postulabat, tam
hercle quam Brutum philosophiae suae relinquamus
(nam in orationibus minorem esse fama sua etiam
11 admiratores eius fatentur): nisi forte quisquam aut
Caesaris pro Decio Samnite aut Bruti pro Deiotaro
rege ceterosque eiusdem lentitudinis ac teporis libros
12 legit, nisi qui et carmina eorundem miratur; fecerunt
enim et carmina et in bibliothecas rettulerunt, non

6. **quo minus**: to be connected with the notion of prevention involved in **voluntatem defuisse**: 'That no lack of good intentions prevented his speaking,' etc.; cf. 3. 4 *satiant quo minus*. On *quo minus* for *quin* see 3. 1 n.

7. **Caelianis**: the Caelius mentioned in 17. 1.

8. **illae**, *that* well-known. — **hians compositio et inconditi sensus**, *disjointed structure and clumsy periods*. For *sensus* cf. 20. 5 n.— **redolent antiquitatem**: so also Cic. *Brut.* 82.

9. **antiquarium**: first found in the *Dialogus* and used in different senses; here, *old-fashioned*; 37. 2 *antiquary*; 42. 3 *admirer of the past*.

10. **cogitationum**, *projects*. — **rerum**: sc. *publicarum*, *affairs of state*. — **minus . . . postulabat**: cf. Quint. X. 1. 114 *C. vero Caesar si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur*. — **Brutum**: see 17. 1 n.

11. **nisi forte quisquam legit**: equivalent to *nemo enim legit*.— **pro Decio Samnite**: nothing is known of this speech. — **Bruti pro Deiotaro**: Brutus defended Deiotarus before Caesar at Nicaea in 47 B.C. — **lentitudinis ac teporis**: only here as rhetorical terms. — **nisi qui**, *other than those who*.

12. **bibliothecas**: private libraries are meant. The first public

melius quam Cicero, sed felicius, quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt. Asinius quoque, quamquam propi- 13
oribus temporibus natus sit, videtur mihi inter Menenios et Appios studuisse; Pacuvium certe et Accium non solum tragoediis sed etiam orationibus suis expressit; adeo durus et siccus est. Oratio autem sicut corpus 14
hominis ea demum pulchra est, in qua non eminent venae nec ossa numerantur, sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubor tegit et decor commendat. Nolo Corvinum inse- 15
qui, quia nec per ipsum stetit quo minus laetitiam nitoremque nostrorum temporum exprimeret, et videmus in quantum iudicio eius vis aut animi aut ingenii suffecerit.

Ad Ciceronem venio, cui eadem pugna cum aequa- 22
libus suis fuit quae mihi vobiscum est. Illi enim 2

library at Rome was founded by Asinius Pollio after his triumph over the Dalmatians in 39 B.C. — **non melius quam Cicero**: Cicero's poetical works excited much ridicule. One of the chief of these was a poem on his consulship, containing the famous jingle: *o fortunatam natam me consule Romam*; cf. Quint. XI. 1. 24 *in carminibus utinam pepercisset, quae non desierunt carpere maligni.* — **illos fecisse pauciores sciunt**: Augustus with wise discrimination is said to have prohibited the publication of Caesar's poetical effusions. Suet. *Caes.* 56.

13. **quamquam natus sit**: for the subjv. with *quamquam* see Intr. p. xx. — **Menenios et Appios**: already mentioned in 17. 1; 18. 5. — **studuisse**: absolutely, *to have pursued his studies*; a post-Augustan usage; cf. 34. 3. — **expressit**, *copied*, as in 20. 3.—**durus et siccus**, *harsh and dry*; *siccus* in this sense is post-Augustan.

14. **demum**: *i.e.* then and then only. — **temperatus**, *well-mixed*, *i.e.* pure, healthy.—**exsurgit toris**, *swells in the muscles*; **toris** is probably the ablative of place,— a poetic use justified by the figurative language of the passage; cf. 13. 8 *tumulo.*

15. **nec per ipsum stetit**, etc., *it was by no means his fault that he failed to attain*, etc. Aper gives two reasons for judging Corvinus leniently. In the first place his defects were not his own fault, but the fault of his time; secondly, his powers were not commensurate with his taste (iudicio). — **quo minus**: after the notion of *hindering* involved in **per ipsum stetit**, as above in section 6.— **in quantum**: *i.e.* how little; see 2. 4 n.

antiquos mirabantur; ipse suorum temporum eloquentiam anteponebat; nec ulla re magis oratores eiusdem
3 aetatis praecurrit quam iudicio. Primus enim excoluit orationem, primus et verbis delectum adhibuit et compositioni artem, locos quoque laetiores attentavit et quasdam sententias invenit, utique in iis orationibus quas senior iam et iuxta finem vitae composuit, id est, postquam magis profecerat usuque et experimentis
4 didicerat quod optimum dicendi genus esset. Nam priores eius orationes non carent vitiis antiquitatis: lentus est in principiis, longus in narrationibus, otiosus circa excessus; tarde commovetur, raro incalescit; pauci sensus apte et cum quodam lumine terminantur; nihil excerpere, nihil referre possis, et velut in rudi aedificio firmus sane paries est et duraturus, sed non
6 satis expolitus et splendens. Ego autem oratorem sicut locupletem ac lautum patrem familiae non eo tantum volo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac ventum arceat,

22. 2. **oratores**: sc. *ceteros*.

3. **orationem**: *i.e.* method of presentation. — **locos laetiores**: *i.e.* more ambitious passages; cf. 20. 5 *sive locus exquisito et poetico cultu enituit.* — **sententias**: as in 20. 5. — **quas senior composuit**: such as the *pro Ligario*, *pro Milone*, and the *Philippics*. Quintilian, IV. 1. 70, speaks in terms of special praise concerning the first of these. Plutarch also in his life of Cicero alludes to the power of the same oration. — **iuxta finem**: found only here in the sense of *sub finem*. — **postquam profecerat**: *postquam* with the pluperfect indicative, a construction rare in pre-Augustan Latin, occurs several times in Tacitus, *e.g.* 38. 4, and in the historical works.

4. **priores**: such as the speeches *pro Roscio Amerino*, *pro M. Tullio*, *pro A. Caecina*, etc. — **circa**, *in respect to;* a post-Augustan sense; cf. 3. 4 n. — **excessus**, *digressions*, used instead of the earlier *egressio* or *digressio*. — **sensus**, *sentences*, as in 20. 5. — **apte**: *i.e.* harmoniously, euphoniously. — **cum quodam lumine**, *with a certain brilliancy*, *i.e.* the employment of some striking figure.

5. **nihil excerpere**, etc.: 'there's nothing in these speeches that you care to pick out and take home with you.' With **referre** supply *domum;* cf. 20. 4. — **duraturus**, *durable*, the participle with adjective force, as in 9. 7, etc.

6. **imbrem ac ventum**, *wind and weather*.

sed etiam quod visum et oculos delectet, non ea solum
instrui supellectile quae necessariis usibus sufficiat,
sed sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae, ut sumere
in manus et aspicere saepius libeat. Quaedam vero 7
procul arceantur ut iam oblitterata et obsoleta; nullum
sit verbum velut rubigine infectum, nulli sensus tarda
et inerti structura in morem annalium componantur;
fugitet foedam et insulsam scurrilitatem, variet com-
positionem, nec omnes clausulas uno et eodem modo
determinet. Nolo inridere 'rotam Fortunae' et 'ius 23
verrinum' et illud tertio quoque sensu in omnibus
orationibus pro sententia positum 'esse videatur.' Nam
et haec invitus rettuli et plura omisi, quae tamen sola
mirantur atque exprimunt ii qui se antiquos oratores
vocant. Neminem nominabo, genus hominum signi- 2
ficasse contentus; sed vobis utique versantur ante
oculos isti qui Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium

7. **in morem annalium**: *i.e.* after the dry style of the chronicles. — **scurrilitatem**: not elsewhere used of style. — **nec**: for *neve*, as in 13. 8. — **clausulas**: *i.e.* the concluding phrases of different sentences. — **uno et eodem modo**: *i.e.* with the same rhythmical cadence.

23. rotam Fortunae: from the oration *in Pisonem* 22. — **ius verrinum**: alluding to Cicero's famous pun *in Verrem*, II. 1. 121 *negabant esse mirandum, ius tam nequam esse verrinum*, *i.e.* 'said it was no wonder that *ius verrinum* was such miserable stuff', where *ius verrinum* may mean either *boar's sauce* or *Verrine justice*. Aper gives this as a typical illustration of *scurrilitas* (*buffoonery, cheap jesting*). — **tertio quoque sensu**, *every other sentence*, — another illustration of Aper's tendency to exaggerate. The phrase *esse videatur* occurs only ten times in the entire oration *pro lege Manilia*, and in twenty others it does not occur at all. — **pro sententia**: *i.e.* instead of an effective closing clause; cf. the use of *sententia* in 20. 5. — **exprimunt**, *copy*, as in 20. 3. The figure seems borrowed from the sculptor's or founder's art.

2. **significasse contentus**: cf. 18. 4 n. — **Lucilium**: the founder of Roman Satire. He was a native of Campania, and lived from 180 to 103 B.C. Quintilian, X. 1. 93, speaks of the high esteem in which Lucilius was still held by many in his day. — **Lucretium**: author of the famous didactic poem *de Rerum Natura*, an exposition of the Epicurean philosophy. He lived from about 98 to 55 B.C. —

pro Vergilio legunt, quibus eloquentia Aufidii Bassi
aut Servilii Noniani ex comparatione Sisennae aut
Varronis sordet, qui rhetorum nostrorum commen-
3 tarios fastidiunt et oderunt, Calvi mirantur; quos
more prisco apud iudicem fabulantes non auditores
sequuntur, non populus audit, vix denique litigator
perpetitur: adeo maesti et inculti illam ipsam quam
iactant sanitatem non firmitate, sed ieiunio conse-
4 quuntur. Porro ne in corpore quidem valetudinem
medici probant quae animi anxietate contingit; parum
est aegrum non esse: fortem et laetum et alacrem
volo; prope abest ab infirmitate, in quo sola sanitas
5 laudatur. Vos vero, viri disertissimi, ut potestis, ut
facitis, inlustrate saeculum nostrum pulcherrimo genere
6 dicendi. Nam et te, Messalla, video laetissima quae-
que antiquorum imitantem, et vos, Materne ac Secunde,
ita gravitati sensuum nitorem et cultum verborum

eloquentia, *style.* — **Bassi, Noniani**: representatives of recent historical composition. Both died in the reign of Nero. — **ex comparatione,** *in comparison with that of;* a post-Augustan usage. — **Sisennae, Varronis**: Sisenna (119 to 67 B.C.) was the author of a history of his own time, composed in an archaic style. M. Terentius Varro (116 to 27 B.C.) was famous as an historian, antiquarian and philologist. Quintilian, X. 1. 95, declares him more valuable for his learning than his style. — **commentarios**: here and in 26.4 in the sense of *sample speeches.* These were also often called *declamationes; commentarius* designates the published form. The usage is post-Augustan. — **fastidiunt et oderunt**: the same phrase is found in Hor. *Ep.* II. 1. 22.

3. **quos**: *i.e. eos qui se antiquos oratores vocant.*—**fabulantes**: contemptuously for *dicentes.* — **non auditores sequuntur**: they cannot hold the attention of their audiences. — **adeo maesti,** etc.: 'in fact so dismal and plain is their mode of expression, that it is by a kind of rhetorical dieting (**ieiunio**), so to speak, not by any innate vigor (**firmitas**), that they attain their much-vaunted soundness of style.'

4. **porro,** *moreover.* — **animi anxietate**: implying that the imitators of the earlier orators avoid every deviation from their chosen models as scrupulously as persons of a feeble constitution avoid any unusual exercise. — **prope abest,** *he is very near to.*

6. **sensuum,** *thoughts,* the same as **sententiarum** below. —

miscetis, ea electio inventionis, is ordo rerum, ea, quotiens causa poscit, ubertas, ea, quotiens permittit, brevitas, is compositionis decor, ea sententiarum planitas est, sic exprimitis adfectus, sic libertatem temperatis ut, etiam si nostra iudicia malignitas et invidia tardaverit, verum de vobis dicturi sint posteri nostri.'

Quae cum Aper dixisset, 'Adgnoscitisne' inquit 24
Maternus 'vim et ardorem Apri nostri? Quo torrente, quo impetu saeculum nostrum defendit! Quam copiose ac varie vexavit antiquos! Quanto non solum ingenio ac spiritu, sed etiam eruditione et arte ab ipsis mutuatus est, per quae mox ipsos incesseret! Tuum 2
tamen, Messalla, promissum immutasse non debet; neque enim defensorem antiquorum exigimus, nec quemquam nostrum, quamquam modo laudati sumus, iis quos insectatus est Aper comparamus. Ac ne 3
ipse quidem ita sentit, sed more vetere et a nostris philosophis saepe celebrato sumpsit sibi contra dicendi partes. Igitur exprome nobis non laudationem anti- 4
quorum (satis enim illos fama sua laudat), sed causas cur tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserimus, cum praesertim centum et viginti annos ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem efficiat ratio temporum.'

planitas, *clearness;* only here in this sense; cf. Cic. *Topica* 97 *narrationes ut planae sint.* — **nostra iudicia**: *i.e.* the judgment of the present day.

24. torrente, *stream of eloquence.* — **quanto ingenio ac spiritu mutuatus est**: zeugma; **mutuatus est** applies strictly to **eruditione et arte** alone. With **ingenio ac spiritu** supply in thought *locutus est.* — **ab ipsis, ipsos**: the repetition is for emphasis.

2. tuum promissum, etc.: 'it cannot be that he has shaken your resolution.' For the promise see 16. 3.

3. saepe celebrato: note the pleonasm.

4. igitur: at the beginning of the sentence, as almost invariably in Tacitus. See 3. 1 n. — **cum praesertim**: elliptical, 'an astonishing fact, especially since, etc.' — **centum et viginti annos**: *i.e.* *only* that many. See 17. 3 n.

25 Tum Messalla: 'Sequar praescriptam a te, Materne, formam; neque enim diu contra dicendum est Apro. Qui primum, ut opinor, nominis controversiam movit, tamquam parum proprie antiqui vocarentur, quos satis
2 constat ante centum annos fuisse. Mihi autem de vocabulo pugna non est: sive illos antiquos sive maiores sive quo alio mavult nomine appellet, dum modo in confesso sit eminentiorem illorum temporum eloquentiam
3 fuisse. Ne illi quidem parti sermonis eius repugno qua quasi cominus nisus fatetur plures formas dicendi
4 etiam isdem saeculis, nedum diversis, exstitisse. Sed quo modo inter Atticos oratores primae Demostheni tribuuntur, proximum autem locum Aeschines et Hyperides et Lysias et Lycurgus obtinent, omnium tamen
5 concessu haec oratorum aetas maxime probatur, sic apud nos Cicero quidem ceteros eorundem temporum

25. formam, *plan.* — **neque diu,** *at no great length; diu* as in 11. 1.— **nominis controversiam:** *i.e.* the discussion about the word *antiqui.*— **controversiam movit:** cf. 16. 1 *quaestionem movisti.* — **tamquam:** see 10. 4 n. — **centum:** the round number, instead of *centum et viginti* as above.

2. **sive illos antiquos . . . appellet,** *let him call them 'antiqui,' or 'maiores,' or by any other name he prefers.* — **in confesso sit:** a post-Augustan form of expression; cf. *Agr.* 1 *in aperto.*

3. **illi parti sermonis:** alluding particularly to the thoughts contained in 18. 4 *in illis quoque, quos vocatis antiquos plures species deprehendi, nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est.* — **qua quasi cominus nisus,** *where, coming to close quarters, so to speak;* continuing the figure begun in **pugna, repugno.** Messalla means that Aper, after a preliminary skirmish about the meaning of *antiqui,* had at last grappled with his subject. On the expression **cominus nisus** cf. *Ann.* IV. 51 *adversum resistentis cominus niti.* — **fatetur:** post-Augustan for *dicit,* as in 17. 4.— **formas dicendi,** *styles of oratory.*

4. **quo modo:** rare before the Augustan era. The phrase usually takes the form *quem ad modum.* — **primae:** *sc. partes, the first place,* — originally a theatrical term, *the leading rôle.* — **haec oratorum aetas:** *i.e. horum oratorum aetas;* cf. 2. 1 *eo tragoediae argumento.* Lysias preceded the other orators here mentioned by half a century or more; yet at a distance of four centuries Messalla does not hesitate to class him with the others.

5. **Cicero, Calvus,** etc.: this

disertos antecessit, Calvus autem et Asinius et Caesar et Caelius et Brutus iure et prioribus et sequentibus anteponuntur. Nec refert quod inter se specie differunt, cum genere consentiant. Adstrictior Calvus, 6
nervosior Asinius, splendidior Caesar, amarior Caelius, gravior Brutus, vehementior et plenior et valentior Cicero; omnes tamen eandem sanitatem eloquentiae 7
praeferunt, ut, si omnium pariter libros in manum sumpseris, scias, quamvis in diversis ingeniis esse quandam iudicii ac voluntatis similitudinem et cognationem. Nam quod in vicem se obtrectaverunt et sunt aliqua 8
epistulis eorum inserta ex quibus mutua malignitas detegitur, non est oratorum vitium, sed hominum. Nam et Calvum et Asinium et ipsum Ciceronem credo 9
solitos et invidere et livere et ceteris humanae infirmitatis vitiis adfici; solum inter hos arbitror Brutum 10
non malignitate nec invidia, sed simpliciter et ingenue iudicium animi sui detexisse. An ille Ciceroni invideret, qui mihi videtur ne Caesari quidem invidisse? Quod 11
ad Servium Galbam et C. Laelium attinet et si quos alios antiquiorum Aper agitare non destitit, non exigit defensorem, cum fatear quaedam eloquentiae eorum ut nascenti adhuc nec satis adultae defuisse. Ceterum si 26

list agrees with that previously given by Aper in 17. 1, except that Messalla here modestly omits to mention his own ancestor Messalla.

6. **adstrictior,** *stricter* in style. — **nervosior**: cf. Cic. *Brut.* 121 *quis Aristotele nervosior?*— **splendidior**: here apparently of clearness of style, for which Caesar is praised by both Cicero (*Brut.* 261) and Quintilian (X. 1. 114). — **gravior**: Quintilian also (XII. 10. 11) speaks of the *gravitas* of Brutus's style.

8. **quod,** *as regards the fact that.* — **in vicem**: post-Augustan for *inter se*, as 20. 5; cf. *Agr.* 6 *in vicem se anteponendo.*

10. **Brutum non malignitate . . . detexisse**: zeugmatic. Supply in sense some such thought as *locutum esse*, or *iudicasse*. — **invideret**: the subjv. is deliberative; Gr. 268.

11. **exigit**; as subj. understand *id*, to be supplied from **quod . . . attinet.**

omisso optimo illo et perfectissimo genere eloquentiae
eligenda sit forma dicendi, malim hercule C. Gracchi
impetum aut L. Crassi maturitatem quam calamistros
2 Maecenatis aut tinnitus Gallionis: adeo melius est
orationem vel hirta toga induere quam fucatis et mere-
3 triciis vestibus insignire. Neque enim oratorius iste,
immo hercule ne virilis quidem cultus est, quo plerique
temporum nostrorum actores ita utuntur ut lascivia
verborum et levitate sententiarum et licentia compo-
4 sitionis histrionales modos exprimant. Quodque vix
auditu fas esse debeat, laudis et gloriae et ingenii loco
plerique iactant cantari saltarique commentarios suos;
5 unde oritur illa foeda et praepostera, sed tamen frequens
exclamatio, ut oratores nostri tenere dicere, histriones
6 diserte saltare dicantur. Equidem non negaverim

26. C. Gracchi, L. Crassi: see 18. 3 n. — **calamistros**: literally *curling-irons*, but here in the figurative sense of *flourish, display*. — **Maecenatis**: the well-known patron of Horace. Augustus is said by Suetonius, *Aug.* 86, to have made much sport of Maecenas's affected style. — **tinnitus**, *jingles*. The word in this sense is poetical and post-Augustan. — **Gallionis**: a rhetorician of the Augustan age. He was a friend of the elder Seneca, and adopted the latter's oldest son.

2. vel: intensive.—**hirta toga**: cf. Cic. *Brut.* 262 *omni ornatu orationis tamquam veste detracta.* — **fucatis**: cf. Cic. *Brut.* 162 *sine ullo fuco veritatis color.*

3. neque enim oratorius, etc., *for that style is not oratorical, in fact not even manly.* — **plerique**: here and below in the sense of *very many.*—**actores**: for *actores causarum*, *pleaders.* So frequently in Quintilian, *e.g.* II. 12. 11. — **lascivia verborum**, *frivolous language; lascivia* only here in this sense. — **levitate sententiarum**, *trivial notions; sententia* as in 21. 6. — **histrionales modos exprimant**, *copy the manners of the stage; histrionalis* is found only here, 29. 3, and *Ann.* I. 16.

4. debeat: subjv. of characteristic. — **iactant cantari saltarique**, etc.: Messalla has in mind the rhetoricians, who set their pupils such execrable models in declamation, that their delivery and gestures resembled singing and dancing. — **commentarios**, *sample speeches*, as in 23. 2.

5. exclamatio: here in the sense of an oft-repeated saying. — **ut dicantur**: explanatory of **exclamatio.** The construction, however, is peculiar, and the text is probably corrupt.—**tenere dicere, diserte saltare**, *speak gracefully, dance eloquently; i.e.* oratory has become so identified with acting

Cassium Severum, quem solum Aper noster nominare ausus est, si iis comparetur qui postea fuerunt, posse oratorem vocari, quamquam in magna parte librorum suorum plus bilis habeat quam sanguinis; primus enim 7
contempto ordine rerum, omissa modestia ac pudore verborum, ipsis etiam quibus utitur armis incompositus et studio feriendi plerumque deiectus, non pugnat sed rixatur. Ceterum, ut dixi, sequentibus comparatus et 8
varietate eruditionis et lepore urbanitatis et ipsarum virium robore multum ceteros superat, quorum neminem Aper nominare et velut in aciem educere sustinuit. Ego autem exspectabam ut incusato Asinio et Caelio 9
et Calvo aliud nobis agmen produceret pluresque vel certe totidem nominaret, ex quibus alium Ciceroni, alium Caesari, singulis deinde singulos opponeremus; nunc detrectasse nominatim antiquos oratores con- 10
tentus neminem sequentium laudare ausus est nisi in publicum et in commune, veritus, credo, ne multos

that the terms of the one art are applied to the other.

6. Cassium Severum: see 19. 1 n. — **plus bilis quam sanguinis**: Quintilian's characterization is nearly identical (X. 1. 117), *stomacho plus quam consilio dedit.*

7. omissa modestia, etc.: referring to the unseemly jests in which Severus is said to have indulged. —**armis incompositus,** *unskillful with the weapons.* Note the abundance of figures drawn from military affairs in the present passage: **armis, pugnat, in aciem educere, agmen, opponeremus.** — **plerumque,** *often,* as in 15. 4. — **deiectus**: for the fuller *de gradu deiectus,* a metaphor borrowed from the gladiatorial contests. —

8. virium robore: this collocation is frequent in Livy, *e.g.* XXII. 40. 5.—**quorum neminem nominare sustinuit**: Aper had mentioned only Cassius Severus as representative of the modern school of oratory. Messalla contends that he should have cited not merely one such instance, but many (**agmen**),—men too who were the peers not only of Asinius, Calvus, and Caelius (whom he had disparaged), but of Caesar and Cicero. — **nominare et educere sustinuit**: in prose *sustineo* with the complementary inf. is post-Augustan. It occurs also *Hist.* I. 37.

9. exspectabam ut produceret, *was waiting for him to bring forward;* ut in place of the commoner *dum.*

10. detrectasse contentus:

11 offenderet, si paucos excerpsisset. Quotus enim quisque scholasticorum non hac sua persuasione fruitur, ut se ante Ciceronem numeret, etsi plane post Gabinianum? At ego non verebor nominare singulos, quo facilius propositis exemplis appareat quibus gradibus fracta sit et deminuta eloquentia.'

27 'At parce' inquit Maternus 'et potius exsolve promissum. Neque enim hoc colligi desideramus, disertiores esse antiquos, quod apud me quidem in confesso est, sed causas exquirimus, quas te solitum tractare dixisti, paulo ante plane mitior et eloquentiae temporum nostrorum minus iratus, antequam te Aper offenderet maiores tuos lacessendo.'

2 'Non sum' inquit 'offensus Apri mei disputatione, nec vos offendi decebit, si quid forte aures vestras perstringat, cum sciatis hanc esse eius modi sermonum legem, iudicium animi citra damnum adfectus proferre.'

3 'Perge' inquit Maternus 'et cum de antiquis loquaris, utere antiqua libertate, a qua vel magis degeneravimus quam ab eloquentia.'

the construction as in 18. 4; 23. 2. —**si paucos excerpsisset**: *i.e.* if he should single out a few to praise.

11. **scholasticorum**: here of the teachers of rhetoric, as regularly. For a different use see 15. 5. —**persuasione,** ***notion,*** explained by **ut numeret.** This sense of the word is post-Augustan. —**etsi plane post Gabinianum:** Sex. Julius Gabinianus was a native of Gaul, and famous as a rhetorician in the reign of Vespasian. The common estimate of his merits in this age seems to have been as much too high as that of Cicero was too low.

27. **parce**: sc. *nominare singulos.* — **colligi,** *to be shown.* — **in confesso est**: as in 25. 2. — **te solitum tractare dixisti**: viz. in 15. 4 f. — **maiores tuos** (*sc. oratores*): 'the orators of old whom you admire'; cf. 25. 2 *sive illos antiquos sive maiores sive quo alio mavult nomine appellet.* On this use of *tuus* cf. 14. 3 *pro carminibus suis.*

2. **perstringat,** *grate on.* — **citra damnum adfectus,** *without loss of good feeling; adfectus* in this sense is post-Augustan. On the post-Augustan use of *citra* for *sine,* cf. 41. 8 *citra obtrectationem; Agr.* 1 *citra fidem.*

Et Messalla: 'Non reconditas, Materne, causas 28
requiris nec aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic
Apro ignotas, etiam si mihi partes adsignatis proferendi
in medium quae omnes sentimus. Quis enim ignorat 2
et eloquentiam et ceteras artes descivisse ab illa vetere
gloria, non inopia hominum, sed desidia iuventutis et
neglegentia parentum et inscientia praecipientium et
oblivione moris antiqui? Quae mala primum in urbe 3
nata, mox per Italiam fusa, iam in provincias manant.
Quamquam vestra vobis notiora sunt: ego de urbe et 4
his propriis ac vernaculis vitiis loquar, quae natos
statim excipiunt et per singulos aetatis gradus cumulantur, si prius de severitate ac disciplina maiorum
circa educandos formandosque liberos pauca praedixero.
Nam pridem suus cuique filius, ex casta parente natus, 5
non in cella emptae nutricis, sed in gremio ac sinu
matris educabatur, cuius praecipua laus erat tueri
domum et inservire liberis; aut eligebatur maior 6

28. aut, aut, vel: the conjunctions **aut, aut** are employed to distinguish Maternus (the person addressed) from Secundus and Aper (who are less directly interested); **vel** connects **Secundo** and **Apro**.—**etiam si**: closely dependent upon **nec ignotas**.

2. **praecipientium** = *praeceptorum*, in accordance with the frequent post-Augustan use of the participle as a noun of agency. This usage is especially frequent where, as here, the use of the participial form avoids ambiguity: *praeceptorum* might be the genitive of *praecepta*, as well as of *praeceptores*.

4. **vestra**: 'the condition of affairs in your own province,' viz. Gaul. Maternus, Aper and Secundus were probably all of Gallic origin. See Intr. p. xx ff.—**urbe**: *i.e. Roma.* — **his** = *nostris*; cf. 7. 4 *hic tunicatus populus.* — **prius praedixero**: pleonastic like 18. 2 *ante praedixero.* — **severitate ac disciplina**: hendiadys for *severitate disciplinae*, the expression used at the close of chapter 29. — **circa**, *with respect to*, as in 22. 4. The gerundive construction with *circa* is rare.

5. **pridem**, *formerly*.— **emptae nutricis**: *hired wet nurse.* — **in gremio ac sinu**: cf. *Agr.* 4 *mater Iulia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis: in huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus.* — **tueri domum**: cf. the characteristic epitaph of a Roman matron, *domum servavit, lanam fecit.*

aliqua natu propinqua, cuius probatis spectatisque
moribus omnis eiusdem familiae suboles commit-
teretur, coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe
dictu neque facere quod inhonestum factu videretur.
7 Ac non studia modo curasque, sed remissiones etiam
lususque puerorum sanctitate quadam ac verecundia
8 temperabat. Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam
Caesaris, sic Atiam Augusti matrem praefuisse edu-
cationibus ac produxisse principes liberos accepimus.
9 Quae disciplina ac severitas eo pertinebat, ut sincera et
integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta unius cuiusque
natura toto statim pectore arriperet artes honestas et,
sive ad rem militarem sive ad iuris scientiam sive ad
eloquentiae studium inclinasset, id solum ageret, id
universum hauriret.

29 At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui
ancillae, cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus
servis, plerumque vilissimus nec cuiquam serio mini-
2 sterio accommodatus. Horum fabulis et erroribus

6. **cuius, qua**: both pronouns refer to **propinqua**; 'in whose presence the children were prevented from doing and saying what was bad.' Andresen less naturally refers **qua** to *suboles*.

7. **temperabat**: *sc. mater*.

8. **Corneliam**: the daughter of Scipio Africanus Major and mother of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. — **Aureliam**: daughter of M. Aurelius Cotta, and mother of Julius Caesar. — **Atia**: niece of Julius Caesar (being daughter of his sister Julia and M. Atius Balbus) and mother of Augustus. — **educationibus**: the plural also in *Ann.* III. 25. — **principes**: predicatively, *to be leaders*. — **produxisse**, *brought up*; post-Augustan and rare; cf. Juv. 14. 228 *pueros avaros producit, brings up boys to be avaricious*.

9. **et nullis**: see 12. 2 n. — **inclinasset**: subjv. by attraction.

29. **natus**, *at birth*. — **Graeculae**: the diminutive implies contempt; cf. 3. 5 *Graeculorum fabulis*. — **unus aut alter**: see 9. 6 n. — **ex omnibus servis**: *i.e.* one taken at random from the whole body, not chosen with care from the most trustworthy. — **cuiquam**: here an adjective. This use is rare and is confined chiefly to post-Augustan writers; cf. Quint. X. 2. 6 *cuiusquam rei*.

2. **fabulis**, *nursery tales*. — **erro-**

virides statim et teneri animi imbuuntur, nec quis-
quam in tota domo pensi habet, quid coram infante
domino aut dicat aut faciat. Quin etiam ipsi parentes
non probitati neque modestiae parvulos adsuefaciunt,
sed lasciviae et dicacitati, per quae paulatim impudentia
inrepit [et sui alienique contemptus]. Iam vero propria 3
et peculiaria huius urbis vitia paene in utero matris
concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor et gladiatorum
equorumque studia, quibus occupatus et obsessus ani-
mus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit? quotum 4
quemque invenies qui domi quidquam aliud loquatur?
quos alios adulescentulorum sermones excipimus, si
quando auditoria intravimus? Ne praeceptores quidem 5

ribus: here apparently meaning *vagaries, superstitions.*— **virides et teneri,** *while fresh and plastic.* For this use of *viridis* cf. Verg. *Aen.* V. 295 *Euryalus forma insigni viridique iuventa;* Ovid *Tristia* IV. 10. 17 *viridi aevo.* — **in tota domo**: the prep. with *totus* occurs also *Hist.* I. 4 *in toto orbe terrarum.* — **nec quisquam pensi habet,** *nor has any one a care.* **pensi** is genitive of value; Gr. 252 *b.* — **infante domino,** *the young master.* — **non, neque**: more emphatic than *neque, neque.* So repeatedly in the *Dialogus, e.g.* 12. 1 *non in strepitu nec sedente ante ostium litigatore.* — **dicacitati,** *sauciness;* only here in Tacitus. In Cicero the word is employed in the sense of banter, raillery, *e.g. de Or.* II. 218. So also in Quintilian, *e.g.* VI. 3. 29.

3. **propria et peculiaria**: alliteration. — **paene in utero . . . videntur**: cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* III. 1. 2 *nunc autem simul atque editi in lucem et suscepti sumus, in omni continuo pravitate . . . versamur, ut paene cum lacte nutricis errorem suxisse videamur.* — **histrionalis favor**: the adjective here has the force of an objective genitive. — **gladiatorum equorumque studia**: brachylogy for *interest in the contests of gladiators and horses.* The Romans of the imperial era took the most extravagant interest in games and spectacles of every sort.— **quibus occupatus et obsessus animus,** *the preoccupation of their minds with which;* cf. 37. 7 *Quinctius defensus.*

4. **quidquam aliud loquatur**: sc. *quam histriones, gladiatores, equos. Loqui* with the accusative (as opposed to *de* with the ablative, *e.g.* 28. 4 *ego de urbe loquar*) means *to have always on one's lips, e.g.* Cic. *ad Att.* IX. 13. 8 *merum bellum loquitur, talks nothing but war;* cf. our 'talk horse, talk shop.' — **auditoria,** *lecture-rooms.*

5. **ne praeceptores,** etc.: notice the climax: the boys talk of actors, gladiators and races at home, they talk of the same matters at school, and even the teachers

ullas crebriores cum auditoribus suis fabulas habent; colligunt enim discipulos non severitate disciplinae nec ingenii experimento, sed ambitione salutationum et inlecebris adulationis.

30 Transeo prima discentium elementa, in quibus et
2 ipsis parum laboratur: nec in auctoribus cognoscendis nec in evolvenda antiquitate nec in notitia vel rerum vel hominum vel temporum satis operae insumi-
3 tur; sed expetuntur quos rhetoras vocant. Quorum professio quando primum in hanc urbem introducta sit quamque nullam apud maiores nostros auctoritatem habuerit statim dicturus, referam necesse est animum ad eam disciplinam qua usos esse eos oratores accepimus quorum infinitus labor et cottidiana meditatio et in omni genere studiorum adsiduae exercitationes ipso-
4 rum etiam continentur libris. Notus est vobis utique Ciceronis liber, qui Brutus inscribitur, in cuius extrema parte (nam prior commemorationem veterum oratorum

themselves talk oftener of such subjects than of any others; **crebriores** is used predicatively. — **ingenii experimento,** *by giving proof of their talent* for teaching. — **ambitione salutationum:** *i.e.* they even pay court to their pupils by making morning calls upon them.

30. transeo = *praetermitto, omitto;* a usage not frequent until the post-Augustan era.—**in quibus et ipsis,** *on which very subjects also. Et ipse* occurs again in 37. 4.

2. auctoribus: *i.e. scriptoribus;* a post-Augustan usage.—**in evolvenda antiquitate**: the past is thought of as a book which is unrolled as it is read.—**quos rhetoras vocant,** *so-called rhetoricians.* The expression implies contempt; cf. 35. 1 *in scholas istorum qui rhetores vocantur.*

3. quorum professio, etc.: upon their first appearance at Rome (*paulo ante tempora Ciceronis,* see 35. 1) the rhetoricians were not favorably received, and in 92 B.C. were compelled by the censors to close their schools. — **statim dicturus**: Messalla does this in 35. 1 f. — **prius referam necesse est animum,** *I must first direct your attention.* — **infinitus labor,** etc.: *i.e.* the account of them.

4. qui Brutus inscribitur: Cicero's famous work on the history of celebrated orators. It was composed in 46 B.C., three years before the orator's death.— **extrema parte**: beginning at 305 of the *Brutus.*

habet) sua initia, suos gradus, suae eloquentiae velut quandam educationem refert: se apud Q. Mucium ius 5
civile didicisse, apud Philonem Academicum, apud Diodotum Stoicum omnes philosophiae partes penitus hausisse; neque iis doctoribus contentum, quorum ei copia in urbe contigerat, Achaiam quoque et Asiam peragrasse, ut omnem omnium artium varietatem complecteretur. Itaque hercule in libris Ciceronis depre- 6
hendere licet non geometriae, non musicae, non grammaticae, non denique ullius artis ingenuae scientiam ei defuisse. Ille dialecticae subtilitatem, ille moralis partis utilitatem, ille rerum motus causasque cognoverat. Ita est enim, optimi viri, ita: ex multa eruditione 7
et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia; neque orationis 8
vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur, sed is est orator, qui de omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum

5. **Q. Mucium**: Quintus Mucius Scaevola, the augur, Cic. *Brut.* 306. —**Philonem**: Philo of Larissa, the Academic philosopher, who during the First Mithridatic War (88 B.C.) fled from Athens to Rome, where Cicero gladly availed himself of his instruction.—**Diodotum**: Cicero's teacher in dialectics, geometry, and natural science. His last years were spent in Cicero's house, where he died 59 B.C. — **quorum copia**, *access to whom.* — **Achaiam quoque et Asiam**: *i.e.* Greece and Asia Minor. After the capture of Corinth by Mummius in 146 B.C. all of Greece south of Thessaly and Epirus was formed into a province under the name of Achaia. Cicero spent two years (79 to 77 B.C.) in this tour of study. — **omnem omnium artium varietatem**: for the redundancy cf. 6. 4 *summa rerum omnium abundantia;* Cic. *de Or.* III. 72 *omnem omnium rerum cognitionem.*

6. **dialecticae**, etc.: the three great divisions of ancient philosophy were dialectics, moral philosophy and natural science; cf. Quint. XII. 2. 10 *naturalem, moralem, rationalem.* — **moralis partis**, *of the moral division, i.e.* of the province of morals.

8. **cluditur** = *includitur;* see 17. 4 n. — **orator**: *i.e.* in the full sense of that term; cf. 15. 1; Cic. *de Or.* I. 64 *is erit orator qui, quaecumque res inciderit, quae sit dictione explicanda, prudenter et composite et ornate et memoriter dicet cum quadam actionis etiam digni-*

apte dicere pro dignitate rerum, ad utilitatem tempo-
31 rum, cum voluptate audientium possit. Hoc sibi illi
veteres persuaserant, ad hoc efficiendum intellegebant
opus esse, non ut in rhetorum scholis declamarent nec
ut fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus con-
troversiis linguam modo et vocem exercerent, sed ut
iis artibus pectus implerent, in quibus de bonis ac
malis, de honesto et turpi, de iusto et iniusto dis-
2 putatur; haec enim est oratori subiecta ad dicendum
materia. Nam in iudiciis fere de aequitate, in delibe-
rationibus de utilitate, in laudationibus de honestate
disserimus, ita tamen ut plerumque haec in vicem
3 misceantur; de quibus copiose et varie et ornate nemo
dicere potest nisi qui cognovit naturam humanam et
vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum et habet intel-
lectum eorum quae nec in virtutibus nec in vitiis
4 numerantur. Ex his fontibus etiam illa profluunt, ut
facilius iram iudicis vel instiget vel leniat, qui scit
quid ira, et promptius ad miserationem impellat, qui
scit quid sit misericordia et quibus animi motibus
5 concitetur. In his artibus exercitationibusque versatus
orator, sive apud infestos sive apud cupidos sive apud

tate. — **ad utilitatem temporum**: *i.e.* in a way to take advantage of the circumstances.

31. opus esse ut: a rare construction, occurring several times in Plautus and not appearing again until Tacitus's day. — **fictis controversiis**: examples of such are given at the end of chapter 35. — **nec ullo modo**, *and in nowise.*

2. **in iudiciis**: Tacitus follows the traditional division of oratory into legal, parliamentary, and eulogistic; cf. Cic. *de Or.* I. 141. Note that **aequitate** corresponds to **iusto et iniusto**; **utilitate** to **bonis et malis**; and **honestate** to **honesto et turpi**. — **in vicem**: *i.e. inter se.* See 20. 5 n.

3. **vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum**: note the alliteration. Intr. p. xxii. — **quae . . . numerantur**: called by the Stoics ἀδιάφορα.

4. **illa**: explained by the following *ut*-clauses.

5. **cupidos**, *partial*, as opposed to **infestos**; cf. Cic. *in Verrem*

invidentes sive apud tristes sive apud timentes dicen-
dum habuerit, tenebit venas animorum et prout cuius-
que natura postulabit, adhibebit manum et temperabit
orationem, parato omni instrumento et ad omnem usum
reposito. Sunt apud quos adstrictum et collectum et 6
singula statim argumenta concludens dicendi genus plus
fidei meretur: apud hos dedisse operam dialecticae pro-
ficiet. Alios fusa et aequalis et ex communibus ducta 7
sensibus oratio magis delectat: ad hos permovendos 8
mutuabimur a Peripateticis aptos et in omnem disputatio-
nem paratos iam locos. Dabunt Academici pugnacita- 9
tem, Plato altitudinem, Xenophon iucunditatem; ne

II. 2. 12 *quaestores vehementer cupidos*, *i.e.* partisans of Verres. The principle of selection followed in the employment of the five adjectives in this sentence is not clear. Only the first two are antithetical. — **dicendum habuerit,** *shall have to speak.* For the idiom see 8. 3 n. — **tenebit venas**: this and the following figures are drawn from the physician's art. — **venas**: *i.e.* the key to. — **cuiusque**: *sc. iudicis infesti sive cupidi,* etc. — **temperabit orationem**: as though mixing some potion in due proportions.

6. **adstrictum et collectum**: synonyms. The metaphor is taken from a closely fitting garment. *Collectus* occurs only here in this sense of *concise, condensed.* — **meretur**: here in the sense of *wins, secures,* without any notion of desert. This usage is not uncommon in Silver Latin; cf. *Agr.* 4 *iisque ipsis virtutibus iram C. Caesaris meritus; Ger.* 14 *vulnera mereri.* The use of the indicative for the subjunctive after *sunt qui* is to be noted. The only other instance of this in Tacitus is *Agr.* 28 *fuere quos indicium tanti casus inlustravit.*

7. **fusa, aequalis, ducta**: the figure is drawn from fluids. — **communibus sensibus**: *i.e.* the common instincts of human nature; cf. Cic. *de Or.* III. 195 *quod ea sunt in communibus infixa sensibus nec earum rerum quemquam funditus natura voluit esse expertem;* Hor. *Sat.* I. 3. 65 *molestus, communi sensu plane caret.*

8. **locos**: the τόποι treated of by Aristotle, the founder of the Peripatetic School, in his Τοπικά. These *loci* are not the *loci communes* of 19. 4, but topics under which one may discover arguments suited to particular cases. Cicero's *Topica* deals with this subject.

9. **Academici pugnacitatem**: Arcesilaus, the chief representative of the New Academy, laid down as a fundamental principle, that one should not so much defend one's own view, as strive to shatter the view of an opponent. — **altitudinem,** *sublimity.* — **Xenophon iucunditatem**: the charm of Xeno-

Epicuri quidem et Metrodori honestas quasdam exclamationes adsumere iisque prout res poscit uti alienum erit
10 oratori. Neque enim sapientem informamus neque Stoicorum comitem, sed eum qui quasdam artes haurire, omnes libare debet. Ideoque et iuris civilis scientiam veteres oratores comprehendebant, et grammatica musica
11 geometria imbuebantur: incidunt enim causae, plurimae quidem ac paene omnes, in quibus iuris notitia desideratur, pleraeque autem, in quibus haec quoque scientia
32 requiritur. Nec quisquam respondeat sufficere ut ad
2 tempus simplex quiddam et uniforme doceamur. Primum enim aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis,

phon's style has been recognized in all ages; cf. Quint. X. 1. 28 *quid ego commemorem Xenophontis iucunditatem inaffectatam?*— **Metrodori**: of Lampsacus, an illustrious disciple of Epicurus. Cicero, *de Fin.* II. 92, calls him *paene alter Epicurus.* — **honestas quasdam**: implying that in the main the doctrines of this school were not such as a worthy man might avail himself of. — **exclamationes**: short, pithy expressions in which Epicurus and his disciples were fond of embodying their tenets, *e.g. is maxime divitiis fruitur qui minime divitiis indiget*, Sen. *Ep.* 14. 17. — **poscit**: the present for the future as occasionally in the Latin of all periods.

10. **neque enim**: supply in sense: 'This eclectic method of procedure is justifiable.'— **sapientem**: *i.e.* an ideal philosopher. — **Stoicorum comitem**, *a follower of the Stoics.* According to Messalla, it is enough for the orator, without being a man of perfect wisdom (**sapientem**), or without adhering to a single system of philosophy, as *e.g.* the Stoic, to take from the different systems whatever may serve his purpose. — **haurire, libare**: *i.e.* to study some branches exhaustively and to dip into others; cf. our 'Know everything about something, and something about everything.'

11. **incidunt ... desideratur**: logically subordinate to **pleraeque ... requiritur**, though grammatically coördinate. The thought is: 'For while there are many cases — most, in fact — in which a knowledge of civil law is necessary, yet many occur in which a knowledge of these other branches (grammar, music, geometry) is also essential.' — **haec scientia**: *i.e. harum artium (grammaticae, musicae, geometriae) scientia;* cf. Cic. *de Or.* I. 10 *ei scientiae, i.e. eius artis (mathematicae) scientiae.*

32. **nec**: for *neu;* as in 13. 8 and frequently. — **ut ad tempus**, etc.: *i.e.* secure some simple and elementary instruction in a subject according to one's temporary need. — **uniforme**, *simple*, a synonym of **simplex**. The word is not found elsewhere except in much later writers.

longeque interesse manifestum est, possideat quis quae
profert an mutuetur. Deinde ipsa multarum artium 3
scientia etiam aliud agentes nos ornat atque ubi minime
credas eminet et excellit, idque non doctus modo et
prudens auditor, sed etiam populus intellegit ac statim
ita laude prosequitur ut legitime studuisse, ut per
omnes eloquentiae numeros isse, ut denique oratorem
esse fateatur; quem non posse alium exsistere nec 4
exstitisse umquam confirmo nisi eum qui, tamquam in
aciem omnibus armis instructus, sic in forum omnibus
artibus armatus exierit. Quod adeo neglegitur ab 5
horum temporum disertis ut in actionibus eorum huius
quoque cottidiani sermonis foeda ac pudenda vitia de-
prehendantur, ut ignorent leges, non teneant senatus
consulta, ius suae civitatis ultro derideant, sapientiae vero
studium et praecepta prudentium penitus reformident.
In paucissimos sensus et angustas sententias detrudunt 6
eloquentiam velut expulsam regno suo, ut quae olim
omnium artium domina pulcherrimo comitatu pectora
implebat, nunc circumcisa et amputata, sine apparatu,
sine honore, paene dixerim sine ingenuitate, quasi una

2. **longe interesse**: an unusual locution, after the analogy of *longe abesse*. The usual expression is *multum* or *plurimum interesse*.

3. **aliud agentes nos ornat**: as, for example, when we mingle socially with others; cf. Cic. *de Or.* I. 72 *neminem esse in oratorum numero habendum qui non sit omnibus eis artibus, quae sunt libero dignae, perpolitus*.—**studuisse**: used absolutely, as in 21. 13. — **per omnes numeros isse**, *to have passed through all the stages*. For this use of *numerus* cf. Cic. *Nat. D.* II. 37 *mundus perfectus expletusque omnibus suis numeris atque partibus*. — **denique**, *in a word*. — **oratorem**, *a true orator*, as in 15. 1.

5. **disertis**, *speakers*, cf. 1. 2 n.— **huius** = *nostri*, as in 7. 4. — **praecepta prudentium penitus**: alliteration.

6. **sensus**, *commonplaces*. — **angustas sententias**, *meagre sentences*. — **comitatu**: viz. of all liberal arts. — **circumcisa et amputata**: terms borrowed from gardening and vine-dressing. — **ingenuitate**, *the dignity of free birth*. The word is rare, and is used by Tacitus in only one other passage, viz. *Ann.*

7 ex sordidissimis artificiis discatur. Ego hanc primam
et praecipuam causam arbitror cur in tantum ab elo-
8 quentia antiquorum oratorum recesserimus. Si testes
desiderantur, quos potiores nominabo quam apud
Graecos Demosthenem, quem studiosissimum Platonis
9 auditorem fuisse memoriae proditum est? Et Cicero
his, ut opinor, verbis refert, quidquid in eloquentia
effecerit, id se non ex rhetorum officinis sed ex
10 Academiae spatiis consecutum. Sunt aliae causae,
magnae et graves, quas a vobis aperiri aequum est,
quoniam quidem ego iam meum munus explevi et,
quod mihi in consuetudine est, satis multos offendi;
11 quos, si forte haec audierint, certum habeo dicturos
me, dum iuris et philosophiae scientiam tamquam ora-
tori necessariam laudo, ineptiis meis plausisse.'

33 Et Maternus 'Mihi quidem' inquit 'susceptum a te
munus adeo peregisse nondum videris ut incohasse
tantum et velut vestigia ac liniamenta quaedam osten-
2 disse videaris. Nam quibus artibus instrui veteres

XIII. 27. — **una**: for *unum* (*artificium*) by attraction to the subj. **eloquentia.**— **sordidissimis**: said with reference to the mercenary purposes for which oratory was employed. The contrast between *artes ingenuae* and *artificia* is made also by Cicero, *de Fin.* III. 4.

7. **hanc causam**: viz. superficiality. — **in tantum**: post-Augustan for *tantum*; cf. *Ger.* 45 *in tantum a libertate degenerant*; *Dial.* 2. 4; 21. 15 *in quantum*.

8. **potiores**, *weightier*.

9. **et Cicero**, etc.: anacoluthon; we should expect *et apud nos Ciceronem*, parallel with **apud Graecos Demosthenem.**— **his verbis**: the citation is from Cic. *Or.* 12.

11. **dum laudo**: *dum* with the present indicative in indirect discourse is not uncommon in Tacitus, particularly in the historical works, *e.g. Hist.* I. 33; *Ann.* II. 81. — **ineptiis**: modestly put for *studiis*; cf. Cic. *de Or.* I. 111 '*Dicam equidem, quoniam institui, petamque a vobis*' *inquit* (Crassus) '*ne has meas ineptias efferatis.*'

33. adeo: correlative with the following **ut**: 'So far are you from seeming to me to have finished your task, that you appear only to have presented the outlines of the subject.'

2. **artibus**, *theory*, as opposed below to **exercitationibus**, *prac-*

oratores soliti sint, dixisti differentiamque nostrae desidiae et inscientiae adversus acerrima et fecundissima eorum studia demonstrasti: cetera exspecto, ut, quem 3
ad modum ex te didici quid aut illi scierint aut nos nesciamus, ita hoc quoque cognoscam, quibus exercitationibus iuvenes iam et forum ingressuri confirmare et alere ingenia sua soliti sint. Neque enim solum arte 4
et scientia, sed longe magis facultate et usu eloquentiam contineri, nec tu, puto, abnues et hi significare vultu videntur.'

Deinde cum Aper quoque et Secundus idem adnuissent, Messalla quasi rursus incipiens: 'Quoniam initia 5
et semina veteris eloquentiae satis demonstrasse videor, docendo quibus artibus antiqui oratores institui erudirique soliti sint, persequar nunc exercitationes eorum. Quamquam ipsis artibus inest exercitatio, nec quisquam 6
percipere tot, tam reconditas, tam varias res potest, nisi ut scientiae meditatio, meditationi facultas, facultati

tice.—**adversus,** *as compared with;* this usage is rare except in Tacitus.

3. **cetera**: explained by the clause **ut cognoscam.** — **iuvenes et forum ingressuri**: for the expression as a whole cf. 20. 4 *iuvenes et in ipsa studiorum incude positi.* On the participle as the equivalent of a relative clause cf. 9. 7 *mansurus.*

4. **arte et scientia, facultate et usu**: corresponding to **artibus** and **exercitationibus** above; cf. on section 6 below. — **contineri,** *consists in.* — **significare**: supply in sense as obj. *se non abnuere.*

5. **initia et semina**: *i.e.* the theory.

6. **quamquam ipsis artibus,** etc.: the thought is not altogether clear, as Messalla himself presently admits; cf. section 8 *sed si cui obscuriora haec videntur.* He means to say: 'And yet practice (**exercitatio**) is, after all, a part of theory (**artibus**); for no one can understand an abstruse subject (**reconditas**) or one involving a multitude of details (**varias**) unless to his theoretical knowledge be added reflection (**meditatio**), to reflection a mastery of the subject (**facultas**), and to this mastery practical experience (**usus**). We thus see that the principle is one and the same, either of understanding what you present to an audience, or of presenting what you have thought out.' — **nisi ut,** *except (that), unless.* The expression is apparently elliptical, as though for *nisi ita ut.* So also Quint. V. 10. 57 *numquam tolletur a specie*

7 usus eloquentiae accedat, per quae colligitur eandem esse rationem et percipiendi quae proferas et proferendi
8 quae perceperis. Sed si cui obscuriora haec videntur, isque scientiam ab exercitatione separat, illud certe concedet, instructum et plenum his artibus animum longe paratiorem ad eas exercitationes venturum, quae propriae esse oratorum videntur.

34 Ergo apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis, deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem qui principem in civitate
2 locum obtinebat. Hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in iudiciis sive in contionibus adsuescebat, ita ut altercationes quoque exciperet et iurgiis interesset, utque sic dixerim, pugnare
3 in proelio disceret. Magnus ex hoc usus, multum constantiae, plurimum iudicii iuvenibus statim contingebat in media luce studentibus atque inter ipsa discrimina, ubi nemo impune stulte aliquid aut contrarie dicit

genus, nisi ut omnes species promoveantur; Pliny *Ep.* II. 12. 16 *neque enim iam incohari poterat actio, nisi ut noctis interventu scinderetur;* Suet. *Claud.* 35.

8. **quae videntur,** *which are seen.*

34. **ergo,** *accordingly, i.e.* in accordance with the promise already made above, *persequar nunc exercitationes.*— **deducebatur:** the regular word to indicate the introduction of a young Roman into active life.— **a propinquis:** *i.e.* in case the father was already dead.

2. **hunc sectari,** etc.: cf. 2. 2 ff. — **omnibus dictionibus,** *everything he said.*— **altercationes:** the *altercatio* was opposed to the *continua* or *perpetua oratio;* the former consisted of questions and answers, the latter allowed no interruptions. An *altercatio* might naturally become so heated in character as to degenerate into *wrangling* (*iurgium*), which was doubtless often the case.—**ut sic dixerim:** the use of the perfect in the sense of the present is confined exclusively to principal clauses, except in this phrase, which occurs repeatedly in Tacitus and Quintilian. Other writers use *ut ita dicam* or *ut ita dixerim.*

3. **constantiae,** *self-reliance.* — **iudicii,** *tact.* — **in media luce:** *i.e.* in the open forum. — **ubi nemo impune dicit,** etc., *where no*

quo minus et iudex respuat et adversarius exprobret,
ipsi denique advocati aspernentur. Igitur vera statim 4
et incorrupta eloquentia imbuebantur; et quamquam
unum sequerentur, tamen omnes eiusdem aetatis pa-
tronos in plurimis et causis et iudiciis cognoscebant;
habebantque ipsius populi diversissimarum aurium
copiam, ex qua facile deprehenderent quid in quoque
vel probaretur vel displiceret. Ita nec praeceptor 5
deerat, optimus quidem et electissimus, qui faciem elo-
quentiae, non imaginem praestaret, nec adversarii et
aemuli, ferro, non rudibus dimicantes, nec auditorium
semper plenum, semper novum ex invidis et faventibus,
ut nec bene nec male dicta dissimularentur. Scitis 6
enim magnam illam et duraturam eloquentiae famam
non minus in diversis subselliis parari quam in suis;
inde quin immo constantius surgere, ibi fidelius corro-

one can avoid punishment, if he utters something. It is this general notion of *avoiding* or *preventing*, attaching to the sentence, which justifies the use of **quo minus**; cf. 3. 1 n. *terreret.* — **contrarie dicit**: *i.e.* contradicts himself. — **advocati**: here in its early sense of *influential friends* who encouraged a litigant by their presence in court. For another meaning see 1. 2 n.

4. **iudiciis**: different *courts*, as the centumviral, praetor's, and others. — **habebant . . . copiam**: *i.e.* they had an *opportunity* (**copiam**) of observing the *diverse taste* (**aurium**) of popular audiences.

5. **ita nec deerat**: *ita* for *itaque*; cf. 17. 5. — **faciem**: *i.e.* the *true face*, as opposed to **imaginem**, an *imitation.* — **ferro non rudibus**, *with real weapons, not with foils.* — **ex invidis et faventibus**: attributive modifier of **auditorium**, *an audience composed of friends and enemies.* On such employment of prepositional phrases see Kühner, *Ausf. Gr.* II. § 58 a, *β*.

6. **duraturam**, *which will endure*; cf. 9. 7 *mansurum.* — **in diversis subselliis**, *on the benches of one's opponents.* For **diversis** in the sense of *adversis*, cf. 1. 4; Quint. XI. 3. 132 *adversa subsellia.* Messalla means that the consciousness of pleading before a hostile audience spurs one on to greater effort, and so to greater triumphs. — **quam in suis** (*sc. subselliis*): *before one's own partisans.* — **inde**: *i.e. ex subselliis adversis.* — **quin immo**: post-positive as in 6. 3. — **constantius surgere** (*sc. famam*): *i.e.* a fuller glory arises from convincing one's opponents. — **fidelius corroborari**, *is established upon a more secure basis.*

7 borari. Atque hercule sub eius modi praeceptoribus
iuvenis ille de quo loquimur, oratorum discipulus, fori
auditor, sectator iudiciorum, eruditus et adsuefactus
alienis experimentis, cui cottidie audienti notae leges,
non novi iudicum vultus, frequens in oculis consuetudo
contionum, saepe cognitae populi aures, sive accusa-
tionem susceperat sive defensionem, solus statim et
8 unus cuicumque causae par erat. Nono decimo aetatis
anno L. Crassus C. Carbonem, uno et vicensimo Caesar
Dolabellam, altero et vicensimo Asinius Pollio C. Cato-
nem, non multum aetate antecedens Calvus Vatinium
iis orationibus insecuti sunt, quas hodieque cum admira-
35 tione legimus. At nunc adulescentuli nostri deducuntur
in scholas istorum qui rhetores vocantur; quos paulo
ante Ciceronis tempora exstitisse nec placuisse maiori-

8. **nono decimo, uno et vicensimo**: Tacitus is in error here as regards the ages of Crassus and Caesar at the time of the events referred to. Crassus was really in his twenty-first year, and Caesar in his twenty-third. Hence some editors read *uno et vicensimo* for *nono decimo*, and *tertio et vicensimo* for *uno et vicensimo*. But this gives us an anticlimax, and it is better to assume that Tacitus followed inaccurate authorities.—**Crassus Carbonem**: on Crassus see 18. 3. C. Papirius Carbo was an associate of Tiberius Gracchus in 131 B.C., but subsequently he deserted the popular party and defended L. Opimius, at whose instance Gaius Gracchus had been murdered in 121 B.C. Crassus nevertheless brought accusation against Carbo in 119 B.C., and prosecuted the case with such vigor that the latter sought death by suicide. — **Caesar Dolabellam**: this charge was brought on the ground of Dolabella's acts of extortion in Macedonia. — **Pollio Catonem**: on Pollio see 12. 7 n. C. Porcius Cato (not to be confused with Cato Uticensis) was accused of certain irregularities in connection with legislation of the year 54 B.C., but was acquitted. — **non multum aetate antecedens**, *not much older*. — **Calvus Vatinium**: on the former see 17. 1 n.; on the latter 21. 5 n. — **insecuti sunt**: used of a legal prosecution as in Hor. *Epist.* II. 2. 19 *insequeris tamen hunc et lite moraris iniqua?* — **hodieque**, *to-day also*; cf. *Ger.* 3 *Asciburgium quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur.*

35. nunc, *nowadays*, as in 29. 1. — **qui rhetores vocantur**: see 30. 2 n. — **paulo ante Ciceronis tempora**: *i.e.* before the time when his public life began. He was fourteen years old when Crassus and Domitius were censors in 92 B.C.

bus nostris ex eo manifestum est, quod a Crasso et
Domitio censoribus cludere, ut ait Cicero, 'ludum im-
pudentiae' iussi sunt. Sed, ut dicere institueram, dedu- 2
cuntur in scholas, in quibus non facile dixerim utrumne
locus ipse an condiscipuli an genus studiorum plus mali
ingeniis adferat. Nam in loco nihil reverentiae est, 3
in quem nemo nisi aeque imperitus intrat; in condi-
scipulis nihil profectus, cum pueri inter pueros et adule-
scentuli inter adulescentulos pari securitate et dicant et
audiantur; ipsae vero exercitationes magna ex parte 4
contrariae. Nempe enim duo genera materiarum apud
rhetoras tractantur, suasoriae et controversiae. Ex his 5
suasoriae quidem, tamquam plane leviores et minus
prudentiae exigentes, pueris delegantur, controversiae
robustioribus adsignantur, quales, per fidem, et quam
incredibiliter compositae! Sequitur autem, ut materiae 6
abhorrenti a veritate declamatio quoque adhibeatur.
Sic fit ut tyrannicidarum praemia aut vitiatarum ele- 7
ctiones aut pestilentiae remedia aut incesta matrum aut

2. **utrumne**: for *utrum;* in Tacitus only here and 37. 4.

3. **nisi aeque imperitus**: *i.e.* the teacher knows no more than his pupils; hence **nihil reverentiae**. — **pueri inter pueros**, etc.: Messalla means that at least the boys and youths might be instructed together, so that the young should profit by the greater experience of their seniors. — **securitate**: *i.e.* without fear of criticism. The poorest effort was sure of applause.

4. **contrariae**, *pernicious*, — in this sense post-Augustan.—**nempe enim**, *for as everybody knows.* The phrase is found only here in Tacitus. — **suasoriae et controversiae**: the former were hortatory in character, the latter argumentative.

5. **robustioribus**: *i.e.* the older boys. — **per fidem**: an unusual oath, and occurring only in post-Augustan writers. So Petr. 100; Apuleius *Met.* VI. 175.

6. **declamatio**: *i.e.* a declamatory style of delivery.

7. **sic fit ut tyrannicidarum praemia**, etc.: examples of the subjects which the pupils of the *rhetores* were wont to treat. Thus they discussed the proper reward to be bestowed upon him who had murdered a tyrant; whether a ravished maiden should prefer death or marriage; whether

quidquid in schola cottidie agitur, in foro vel raro vel numquam, ingentibus verbis persequantur: cum ad veros iudices ventum —

* * *

36 — rem cogitant. Nihil humile vel abiectum eloqui poterat. Magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur et motibus excitatur et urendo clarescit. Eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate antiquorum eloquentiam pro-
2 vexit. Nam etsi horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribui fas erat, tamen illa perturbatione ac licentia plura sibi adsequi videbantur, cum mixtis omni-

one should sacrifice one's own child in order to stay a pestilence, etc. — **cum ad iudices ventum**: the sentence probably closed with some such thought as: 'then we see how scant their equipment is.' The conclusion of Messalla's speech, and the beginning of the following are lost. The lacuna was of several pages in extent, six in one MS.

36. Concerning the speaker in chapters 36–40. 1 see Intr. p. xvii. — **humile, abiectum**: a favorite combination of Cicero; cf. *de Fin.* V. 57 *nihil humile, nihil abiectum*; *Or.* 192 *humilem et abiectam orationem*. — **poterat**: the subj. of this verb was probably the name of some Greek orator, — Demosthenes or some other; cf. the language in line 4: *eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate*. — **antiquorum**; sc. *oratorum*.

2. horum temporum, *the present times*. — **ea consecuti sunt quae tribui fas erat**: *i.e.* such moderate distinction as it was possible to attain under existing conditions, implying that in a well-ordered and tranquil government such opportunities were more restricted than formerly. — **illa**: *i.e.* under the Republic, as opposed to **horum temporum** above. — **plura sibi adsequi videbantur**: the thought is inaccurately expressed. The earlier Roman orators, who must be understood as referred to in **videbantur**, could obviously not have compared themselves with a later generation, as enjoying larger privileges (**plura adsequi**). The writer means rather: 'secured greater rewards, as it seems to me.' For a similar use of *videri*, cf. Caes. *B.G.* I. 40 *cum meritus videbatur*, *i.e. deserved, as it seems to me*. — **omnibus**: for *omnibus rebus*; cf. 37. 4 *his*. Neuter plural adjectives are rarely used substantively by earlier writers in any case except the nom. or acc., where the termination shows the gender. The writers of the Silver Age, however, employ the other cases with some freedom, *e.g.* Tac. *Agr.* 35 *firmus adversis*; Seneca, *de Benef.* II. 5. 2 *sublimium cursum*; Quint. XI.

bus et moderatore uno carentibus tantum quisque orator saperet quantum erranti populo persuadere poterat. Hinc leges adsiduae et populare nomen, hinc 3
contiones magistratuum paene pernoctantium in rostris, hinc accusationes potentium reorum et adsignatae etiam domibus inimicitiae, hinc procerum factiones et adsidua senatus adversus plebem certamina. Quae singula etsi 4
distrahebant rem publicam, exercebant tamen illorum temporum eloquentiam et magnis cumulare praemiis videbantur, quia quanto quisque plus dicendo poterat, tanto facilius honores adsequebatur, tanto magis in ipsis honoribus collegas suos anteibat, tanto plus apud principes gratiae, plus auctoritatis apud patres, plus notitiae ac nominis apud plebem parabat. Hi clientelis 5
etiam exterarum nationum redundabant, hos ituri in provincias magistratus reverebantur, hos reversi colebant, hos et praeturae et consulatus vocare ultro videbantur, hi ne privati quidem sine potestate erant, cum et populum et senatum consilio et auctoritate regerent. Quin immo sibi ipsi persuaserant neminem sine elo- 6

2. 6 *hesternorum immemores.* — **tantum saperet**: *i.e. was thought to be as wise*, as he could make people believe. — **erranti**, *vacillating*, following now one leader, now another.

3. **hinc**: *i.e.* as a result of the unsettled state of public life. Note the emphatic repetition of this particle (anaphora). — **leges adsiduae**: *i.e.* popular laws, *e.g.* agrarian legislation.—**et**, *and therefore*, *i.e.* as a result of these popular laws. — **paene pernoctantium in rostris**: cf. Cic. *Brut.* 305 *habitabant in rostris.* — **adsignatae domibus inimicitiae**: *i.e.* feuds attaching to noble houses, and transmitted from generation to generation. — **procerum factiones**: factions among the nobility, some of whom took the part of the people in the strife of classes.

5. **hi**: sc. *antiqui oratores.*—**clientelis etiam exterarum nationum**: not only colonies and municipalities, but also provinces and foreign kings were wont to enter the *clientela* of distinguished and influential Romans. — **reverebantur, colebant**: *i.e.* in order to secure protection for their interests while absent, and to avoid prosecution for maladministration upon their return.—**consulatus vocare**: note the personification.

quentia aut adsequi posse in civitate aut tueri conspi-
7 cuum et eminentem locum. Nec mirum, cum etiam
inviti ad populum producerentur, cum parum esset in
senatu breviter censere, nisi quis ingenio et eloquentia
sententiam suam tueretur, cum in aliquam invidiam aut
crimen vocati sua voce respondendum haberent, cum
testimonia quoque in iudiciis non absentes nec per
tabellam dare, sed coram et praesentes dicere coge-
8 rentur. Ita ad summa eloquentiae praemia magna etiam
necessitas accedebat, et quo modo disertum haberi pul-
chrum et gloriosum, sic contra mutum et elinguem
37 videri deforme habebatur. Ergo non minus rubore
quam praemiis stimulabantur, ne clientulorum loco
potius quam patronorum numerarentur, ne traditae a
maioribus necessitudines ad alios transirent, ne tam-
quam inertes et non suffecturi honoribus aut non impe-
2 trarent aut impetratos male tuerentur. Nescio an
venerint in manus vestras haec vetera, quae et in anti-
quariorum bibliothecis adhuc manent et cum maxime
a Muciano contrahuntur ac iam undecim, ut opinor,

7. **ad populum producerentur**: *i.e.* were brought upon the Rostra to address the people. — **breviter censere, nisi quis tueretur**: the clause **nisi quis tueretur** is not to be regarded as subordinate to **breviter censere,** but is rather explanatory of it. 'It was too little to speak briefly, *i.e.* it was too little if a man did not support his opinion by able speech.' — **respondendum haberet**: see Intr. p. xxi. — **per tabellam,** *by deposition.*

8. **quo modo**: see 25. 4 n. — **mutum et elinguem**: cf. Livy X. 19. 7 *ex muto et elingui facundum etiam consulem haberent.*

37. **rubore,** *sense of shame,*— in this meaning post-Augustan.— **clientulorum**: the diminutive emphasizes the feeling of contempt for those who held the position of *clientes.* The word is found only here, and in *Ann.* XII. 36. — **necessitudines**: *i.e.* the hereditary relations of a *patronus* to his *clientes.*— **non suffecturi,** *unequal to.* — **impetrarent**: sc. *honores.*

2. **haec vetera**: *these old documents.* — **antiquariorum**: a post-Augustan word. For its meaning in the *Dialogus* see 21. 9 n. — **cum maxime,** *now particularly,* as in 16. 11. — **a Muciano**: C. Licinius Mucianus, well known as

Actorum libris et tribus Epistularum composita et edita
sunt. Ex his intellegi potest Cn. Pompeium et M. 3
Crassum non viribus modo et armis, sed ingenio quoque
et oratione valuisse, Lentulos et Metellos et Lucullos
et Curiones et ceteram procerum manum multum in
his studiis operae curaeque posuisse, nec quemquam
illis temporibus magnam potentiam sine aliqua elo-
quentia consecutum. His accedebat splendor reorum 4
et magnitudo causarum, quae et ipsa plurimum eloquen-
tiae praestant. Nam multum interest utrumne de furto
aut formula et interdicto dicendum habeas an de ambitu
comitiorum, expilatis sociis et civibus trucidatis. Quae 5
mala sicut non accidere melius est, isque optimus civi-
tatis status habendus est in quo nihil tale patimur, ita

the efficient supporter of Vespasian at the time the latter became Emperor. The concluding years of his life were apparently devoted to the preparation of an historical work, for which he was now gathering materials. See Intr. p. xiv. — **contrahuntur,** *are being gathered.* — **actorum**: these were of two kinds, *acta senatus* and *acta diurna*. Both were established by Julius Caesar in 59 B.C. They were published under government authority, posted in public, and then extensively copied by private citizens for transmission abroad. The *acta senatus* were a record of the official proceedings of the Senate; the *acta diurna* epitomized both public and private news of general interest. It is to the *acta senatus*, probably, that reference is here made.

3. **Lentulos . . . Curiones,** etc.: all belonging to the last period of the Republic.

4. **his accedebat,** *to this was added.* For the use of the dative plural neuter as a substantive see 36. 2 n. — **quae et ipsa,** *which very circumstances also;* cf. 30. 1 *in quibus et ipsis.*— **utrumne**: for the simple *utrum*, as in 35. 2. — **formula**: see 20. 1 n.—**interdicto**: the name given to a decree issued by the praetor under special circumstances,— particularly in cases relating to the possession of property and requiring immediate adjustment. In case the litigants agreed as to the facts alleged in the *interdictum*, the case terminated at once. In case of disagreement it took its ordinary course in the courts.— **dicendum habeas**: see Intr. p. xxi. — **ambitu comitiorum,** *bribery at elections,* the subject of Cicero's oration *pro Murena*. — **expilatis sociis et civibus trucidatis**: sociis means *provincials*, as commonly in Tacitus. The theme is illustrated by the Verrine orations. Note the chiasmus.

cum acciderent, ingentem eloquentiae materiam sub-
6 ministrabant. Crescit enim cum amplitudine rerum vis ingenii, nec quisquam claram et inlustrem orationem
7 efficere potest nisi qui causam parem invenit. Non, opinor, Demosthenem orationes inlustrant quas adversus tutores suos composuit, nec Ciceronem magnum oratorem P. Quinctius defensus aut Licinius Archias faciunt: Catilina et Milo et Verres et Antonius hanc
8 illi famam circumdederunt; non quia tanti fuerit rei publicae malos ferre cives ut uberem ad dicendum materiam oratores haberent, sed, ut subinde admoneo, quaestionis meminerimus sciamusque nos de ea re loqui quae facilius turbidis et inquietis temporibus exsistit.
9 Quis ignorat utilius ac melius esse frui pace quam bello vexari? Plures tamen bonos proeliatores bella quam
10 pax ferunt. Similis eloquentiae condicio. Nam quo saepius steterit tamquam in acie, quoque plures et intulerit ictus et exceperit, quoque maiores adversarios acrioresque pugnas sibi ipsa desumpserit, tanto altior et excelsior et illis nobilitata discriminibus in ore

7. **tutores suos**: Demosthenes, when he came of age, brought suit against his guardians on the ground that they had fraudulently administered the property left him by his father. After a lengthy litigation he finally abandoned the case. — **P. Quinctius defensus**, *the defense of P. Quinctius*. This is the earliest of the extant orations of Cicero, delivered when he was only twenty-five years old. Like the oration for Archias, it concerned only private interests.

8. **non quia tanti fuerit**, etc., *not that it was worth while for the State to produce bad citizens for the purpose of providing the orators with fertile themes for oratory.* For the subjv. see 9. 4 n. '*non quia poeta es*. — **ut subinde admoneo**: as *e.g.* at the beginning of chapter 36. — **sed quaestionis meminerimus**, *but let us remember the point;* transition to a principal clause instead of the anticipated *sed de ea re loquimur*. — **sciamusque**, *and let us recognize the fact.*

9. **proeliatores**: in Tacitus found only here and in *Ann.* II. 73.

10. **steterit, intulerit**, etc.: sc. *eloquentia* personified. — **quoque**: *i.e. et quo*. — **in ore hominum**

hominum agit, quorum ea natura est ut secura velint, periculosa extollant.

Transeo ad formam et consuetudinem veterum iudi- 38
ciorum. Quae etsi nunc aptior exsistit, eloquentiam tamen illud forum magis exercebat, in quo nemo intra paucissimas horas perorare cogebatur et liberae comperendinationes erant et modum in dicendo sibi quisque sumebat et numerus neque dierum neque patronorum
finiebatur. Primus haec tertio consulatu Cn. Pompeius 2
adstrinxit imposuitque veluti frenos eloquentiae, ita tamen ut omnia in foro, omnia legibus, omnia apud
praetores gererentur; apud quos quanto maiora negotia 3
olim exerceri solita sint, quod maius argumentum est quam quod causae centumvirales, quae nunc primum obtinent locum, adeo splendore aliorum iudiciorum obruebantur, ut neque Ciceronis neque Caesaris neque Bruti neque Caelii neque Calvi, non denique ullius

agit: literally *does she appear* (*live*) *in the mouths of men, i.e.* is spoken of by men.

38. quae: *i.e. forma et consuetudo iudiciorum,* — not *forma et consuetudo veterum iudiciorum.* — **comperendinationes**: a post-Augustan word. — **modum in dicendo**: cf. Cic. *de Rep.* II. 1 *modus in dicendo.* — **numerus patronorum**: towards the close of the Republic sometimes as many as twelve served in the same case. — **finiebatur**: for *definiebatur,* — the simple verb for the compound; see 17. 4 n.

2. **tertio consulatu**: *i.e.* in the year 52 B.C., when Pompey, then sole consul, secured the passage of a law limiting the time of the accuser to two hours and that of the accused to three. He also restricted the number of *patroni.* — **in foro**: as opposed to *auditoria et tabularia,* 39. 2. — **legibus**: cf. 19. 6 *vi et potestate, non iure et legibus cognoscunt.* — **apud praetores**: as opposed to *in senatu sive apud principem,* 5. 6.

3. **apud quos,** etc., *what greater proof is there how much more important business used to be transacted,* etc.? — **causae centumvirales**: *i.e.* cases before the *centumviri;* see 7. 1 n. — **quae nunc primum obtinent locum**: Augustus gave the centumviral court special prominence by assigning to it exclusive jurisdiction in certain matters, particularly cases of disputed inheritance. — **obruebantur,** *were overshadowed.* — **ut non . . . liber dictus legatur,** (*so overshadowed*) *that we do not read*

magni oratoris liber apud centumviros dictus legatur
4 — exceptis orationibus Asinii, quae pro heredibus
Vrbiniae inscribuntur, ab ipso tamen Pollione mediis divi Augusti temporibus habitae, postquam longa temporum quies et continuum populi otium et adsidua senatus tranquillitas et maxime principis disciplina ipsam quoque eloquentiam sicut omnia depacaverat.
39 Parvum et ridiculum fortasse videbitur quod dicturus
2 sum, dicam tamen vel ideo ut rideatur. Quantum
humilitatis putamus eloquentiae attulisse paenulas istas, quibus adstricti et velut inclusi cum iudicibus fabulamur! Quantum virium detraxisse orationi auditoria et tabularia credimus, in quibus iam fere plurimae causae

of the delivery of a speech (**liber**) *by any great orator before the centumviri;* **dictus** is for *dictus esse.* The construction is after the analogy of *Caesar venisse dicitur*, and is extremely rare with *legor*. Further instances are: Prop. V. 11. 36 *uni nupta fuisse legar;* Cassiodorus *Variarum* IX. 4 *gryphes aurum iugiter effodere leguntur, we read that the griffins dig gold continually.*

4. **pro heredibus Vrbiniae**: Asinius Pollio (see 12. 7 n.) defended the rights of the heirs of a certain Urbinia against one Figulus, who claimed to be Urbinia's son, but was in reality a mere adventurer and a slave. The case made great stir in Rome at the time. — **ab ipso tamen Pollione**: *i.e.* though delivered by Pollio himself, one of the *oratores antiqui*, yet they were delivered at a time when political activity had greatly declined, and the interest in private affairs (such as the suit just mentioned) had greatly increased. — **quies, otium, tranquillitas**: Tacitus often combines these synonyms, *e.g.* *Agr.* 6, 21, 40. — **depacaverat**: on the use of the pluperfect indicative with *postquam* see 22. 3 n. *Depacare* occurs only here. On the compound for the simple verb cf. 6. 5 *consurgendi.*

39. vel ideo ut rideatur: *i.e.* for the very purpose of raising a laugh.

2. paenulas: apparently either the *traveling-cloak*, or, what is more probable, some other garment resembling it and designated by the same name. The usual dress of the Roman orator was, at all periods, the *toga*. The present passage is the only one that mentions a different garb.— **fabulamur**: in a disparaging sense, as in 23. 3. Owing to frequent interruptions by the judge, the orator's discourse ceases to be an oration, and degenerates into a *chat with the court.* — **auditoria et tabularia**: the *auditoria* were properly used for public recitations, and the *tabularia* for the preservation of the public archives; both places, therefore, were beneath the dignity of a court of justice.

explicantur! Nam quo modo nobiles equos cursus et 3
spatia probant, sic est aliquis oratorum campus, per quem nisi liberi et soluti ferantur, debilitatur ac frangitur eloquentia. Ipsam quin immo curam et diligentis 4
stili anxietatem contrariam experimur, quia saepe interrogat iudex quando incipias, et ex interrogatione eius incipiendum est, frequenter probationibus et testibus silentium inpatiens indicit. Vnus inter haec dicenti aut alter adsistit et res velut in solitudine agitur. Oratori autem clamore plausuque opus est et velut 5
quodam theatro; qualia cottidie antiquis oratoribus contingebant, cum tot pariter ac tam nobiles forum coartarent, cum clientelae quoque ac tribus et municipiorum etiam legationes ac pars Italiae periclitantibus adsisteret, cum in plerisque iudiciis crederet populus Romanus sua interesse quid iudicaretur. Satis constat 6
C. Cornelium et M. Scaurum et T. Milonem et L. Bestiam et P. Vatinium concursu totius civitatis et accusatos et defensos, ut frigidissimos quoque oratores

3. **quo modo**: see 25. 4 n. — **cursus et spatia**, *spacious courses*, hendiadys.

4. **quin immo**: post-positive. See 6. 3 n. — **contrariam**, *futile*, used predicatively. For the meaning cf. 34. 3 n. — **quando incipias**, *when you're going to begin*, *i.e.* come to the point; indirect question. — **ex interrogatione eius**, *after his inquiry.* — **indicit**: *sc. iudex*, *i.e.* he even interrupts the argument and the evidence. — **unus aut alter**: *only one or two* friends are present, as compared with the throng who formerly gathered in the court-room. On *unus aut alter* see 9. 6 n.

5. **pariter** = *simul*, 'at the same time so many and so noble.' With **tot** and **nobiles** supply *homines*; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 108. 38 *tot ac talium.* — **adsisteret**: in the judicial sense, post-Augustan for the earlier *adesse*, *stand by one on trial*, as counsel or active supporter.

6. **C. Cornelium**: accused of treason in 65 B.C., and successfully defended by Cicero. — **Scaurum**: pro-praetor of the province of Sardinia in 55 B.C. After his return to Rome he was accused of extortion, but was successfully defended by Cicero and others. — **Milonem, Bestiam, Vatinium**: all defended by Cicero. — **frigidissimos quoque**, *even the coldest;* **quoque** in the sense

ipsa certantis populi studia excitare et incendere po-
7 tuerint. Itaque hercule eius modi libri exstant, ut ipsi
quoque qui egerunt non aliis magis orationibus cen-
40 seantur. Iam vero contiones adsiduae et datum ius
potentissimum quemque vexandi atque ipsa inimici-
tiarum gloria, cum se plurimi disertorum ne a P. qui-
dem Scipione aut L. Sulla aut Cn. Pompeio abstinerent
et ad incessendos principes viros, ut est natura invidiae,
populi quoque pronis, ut histriones, auribus uterentur,
quantum ardorem ingeniis, quas oratoribus faces ad-
movebant!

* * *

2 Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur et quae probitate
et modestia gaudeat, sed est magna illa et notabilis elo-
quentia alumna licentiae, quam stulti libertatem vocant,

of *vel*, as in 6. 6. — **potuerint,** *would have been able.* See Gildersleeve, § 599, Remark 5, last line.

7. **libri,** *published speeches*, as in 38. 3. — **ut . . . non aliis magis orationibus censeantur:** the text here is probably corrupt. Some commentators explain: *so that the very men who delivered them* (**egerunt**) *are not rated higher for any other orations* (*than for these*). But this would simply be a cumbrous way of saying that certain masterpieces of the great orators were extant, a ridiculous anticlimax; moreover, the above interpretation of **egerunt** does violence to the language.

40. **ipsa inimicitiarum:** the prominence gained by the notoriety of a quarrel was held to be a sufficient compensation. — **ut est natura invidiae:** modifying ad incessendos viros.—**populi quoque pronis, ut histriones, auribus uterentur:** *i.e.* the orators found the ears of the people ready, and were listened to as eagerly as were actors on the stage; cf. *Hist.* I. 1 *obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur;* 54 *ubi pronis militum auribus accipiebantur.* — **faces:** figuratively, *stimulus.*

2. **non de otiosa,** etc.: on the probable lacuna before these words, see Intr., p. xvii. — **alumna licentiae:** the thought is apparently at variance with that expressed in Cic. *Brut.* 45 *pacis est comes otique socia et iam bene constitutae civitatis quasi alumna quaedam eloquentia.* But in the passage from the *Brutus*, *pax* and *otium* are opposed not to civil discord but to foreign wars, and *bene constituta civitas* not to a state torn by dissensions but to one whose institutions are not yet formed; hence there is no necessary conflict between Cicero's thought and that of Tacitus. — **licentiae, libertatem:** the Latin writers affect combinations of

comes seditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum, sine
obsequio, sine severitate, contumax temeraria adrogans,
quae in bene constitutis civitatibus non oritur. Quem 3
enim oratorem Lacedaemonium, quem Cretensem accepi-
mus? quarum civitatum severissima disciplina et seve-
rissimae leges traduntur. Ne Macedonum quidem ac 4
Persarum aut ullius gentis quae certo imperio contenta
fuerit eloquentiam novimus; Rhodii quidam, plurimi 5
Athenienses oratores exstiterunt, apud quos omnia po-
pulus, omnia imperiti, omnia, ut sic dixerim, omnes pote-
rant. Nostra quoque civitas, donec erravit, donec se 6
partibus et dissensionibus et discordiis confecit, donec
nulla fuit in foro pax, nulla in senatu concordia, nulla
in iudiciis moderatio, nulla superiorum reverentia, nullus
magistratuum modus, tulit sine dubio valentiorem elo- 7
quentiam, sicut indomitus ager habet quasdam herbas
laetiores; sed nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum elo-
quentia fuit ut pateretur et leges, nec bene famam
eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit.

words related both in sound and sense. Further illustrations are *Hist.* II. 10 *libertas ac licentia;* I. 12 *licentia ac libidine.* See Intr. p. xxii. — **sine severitate,** *without reserve.* Tacitus is thinking of the old Roman *severitas,* often synonymous with *dignitas, gravitas.*

4. **certo imperio**: *i.e.* the undisputed sway of a monarch.

5. **Rhodii**: *e.g.* Apollonius Molo, the teacher of Cicero, and the elder Hermagoras. See 19. 4 n. — **omnia, donec, nulla**: on the anaphora see Intr. p. xxiii. — **ut sic dixerim**: see 34. 2 n.

6. **donec erravit**: *i.e.* while it lacked strong leadership; cf. 36. 2 *erranti populo.* On this use of *donec* see 8. 5 n. — **nullus magistratuum modus**: *i.e.* they did not confine themselves to the constitutional limitations of their office; cf. *e.g.* the case of the Gracchi.

7. **laetiores**: cf. Verg. *Georg.* I. 339 *laetis in herbis.* — **nec tanti**: explained by the following *ut*-clause. — **ut pateretur et leges,** *that it should endure their laws too,* as well as hear their eloquence. — **nec bene famam,** etc.: 'and ingloriously did Cicero pay for his renown as an orator by such a death.' With *nec bene* cf. Hor. *Carm.* II. 7. 10 *relicta non bene parmula.* — **pensavit**: for *compensavit.* See 17. 4 n.

41 Sic quoque quod superest antiqui oratoribus fori, non
emendatae nec usque ad votum compositae civitatis argu-
mentum est. Quis enim nos advocat nisi aut nocens aut
2 miser? Quod municipium in clientelam nostram venit
nisi quod aut vicinus populus aut domestica discordia
agitat? Quam provinciam tuemur nisi spoliatam vexa-
3 tamque? Atqui melius fuisset non queri quam vindicari.
Quod si inveniretur aliqua civitas in qua nemo peccaret,
supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator, sicut inter
4 sanos medicus; quo modo enim minimum usus mini-
mumque profectus ars medentis habet in iis gentibus
quae firmissima valetudine ac saluberrimis corporibus
utuntur, sic minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria
est inter bonos mores et in obsequium regentis paratos.
5 Quid enim opus est longis in senatu sententiis, cum
optimi cito consentiant? Quid multis apud populum
contionibus, cum de re publica non imperiti et multi
6 deliberent, sed sapientissimus et unus? quid voluntariis
accusationibus, cum tam raro et tam parce peccetur?
Quid invidiosis et excedentibus modum defensionibus,
cum clementia cognoscentis obviam periclitantibus eat?

41. sic quoque, etc.: 'so even to-day, as far as the ancient type of oratory survives, it proves that the state is not yet perfect, etc.'

3. melius fuisset: where *melius fuit* would be the commoner idiom. Gr. 309, 2.— **non queri**: *i.e.* to have no cause for complaint.

4. minimum usus minimumque profectus, *the least need and consequently the least advantage*; **-que** is epexegetic. This usage is comparatively rare; cf. *Ger.* 29 *ultra Rhenum ultraque veteres terminos*; Livy I. 60, 1 *eodemque tempore venerunt.* — **et in obsequium regentis paratos**, *and inclined to obedience to a sovereign.*

5. quid enim opus, etc.: *i.e.* 'what need of oratory where the ideal government already exists?' — **sed sapientissimus et unus**: *i.e.* the Emperor. Tacitus seizes the opportunity of complimenting the administration of Vespasian.

6. voluntariis accusationibus: *i.e.* such as those voluntarily brought by Caesar and Cicero against Dolabella and Verres, in the last days of the Republic. See 36. 3. — **cognoscentis**: *i.e. iudicis*; cf. 19. 6 n. Intr. p. xx.

Credite, optimi et, in quantum opus est, disertissimi 7
viri, si aut vos prioribus saeculis aut illi quos miramur
his nati essent, ac deus aliquis vitas ac tempora vestra
repente mutasset, nec vobis summa illa laus et gloria
in eloquentia neque illis modus et temperamentum
defuisset. Nunc, quoniam nemo eodem tempore adse- 8
qui potest magnam famam et magnam quietem, bono
saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectationem alterius utatur.'

Finierat Maternus, cum Messalla: 'Erant quibus 42
contra dicerem, erant de quibus plura dici vellem,
nisi iam dies esset exactus.' 'Fiet' inquit Maternus 2
'postea arbitratu tuo, et si qua tibi obscura in hoc meo
sermone visa sunt, de iis rursus conferemus.' Ac
simul adsurgens et Aprum complexus: 'Ego' inquit 3
'te poetis, Messalla autem antiquariis criminabimur.'
'At ego vos rhetoribus et scholasticis' inquit. Cum
adrisissent, discessimus. 4

7. **in quantum opus est disertissimi**: *i.e.* as eloquent as the changed conditions of the times make necessary. — **vitas ac tempora vestra**: note that **vestra** includes not merely **vos** but also **illi**. — **temperamentum**, *moderation;* post-Augustan for the earlier *temperantia*.

8. **bono saeculi sui**, etc., *let each one enjoy the advantages of his own age*, *i.e.* do you enjoy the advantages of your era, and credit the ancients with those which they possessed. — **citra** = *sine*, as in 27. 2. — **alterius**: here for the gen. of *alius*, as usual.

42. finierat: as in 14. 1.—**dies exactus**: poetic and post-Augustan for *dies confectus*.

2. **conferemus**, *confer:* here used absolutely. The usual expression is *sermonem conferre*.

3. **poetis, antiquariis**: *criminari* is usually followed by *apud aliquem* not by the dat. *Antiquarius* is here used in the sense of *admirer of the past;* see 21. 9 n.

CRITICAL APPENDIX.

A. The Manuscripts.

The MSS. of the *Dialogus* are all descended from a single codex supposed to have been written in the 13th century, and discovered about 1457 by one Enoch of Ascoli, a papal monk, probably at the monastery of Hersfeld in Hesse. The MSS. fall into two families, usually designated by X and Y. To the X-class belong:

A Vaticanus 1862.

B Leidensis, the second hand of which is designated as *b*.

To the Y family belong:

E Ottobonianus.

V Vindobonensis 711.

C Farnesianus.

Δ Vaticanus 4498.

D Vaticanus 1518.

A few others of inferior value.

Till lately scholars gave the preference to the X-class, but the tendency of recent study has been to recognize the worth of the Y-family.

B. Chief Deviations of this Edition from the Text of Halm.

1. 3. **mea mihi,**[1] Schurzfleisch; **mihi mea,** MSS. 4. **e . . . excepi,** Gudeman; **a . . . accepi,** MSS. **diversas eas quidem probabiles,** Baehrens; **diversas [vel easdem probabiles],** H.

5. 3. **non,** supplied by Gudeman. 6. **sive . . . vel . . . sive,** Gudeman; **sive . . . sive . . . sive,** Muretus.

[1] The reading of this edition stands first; that of Halm follows. Readings which rest upon Halm's own conjecture are marked H.

6. 5. **coram,** MSS.; **coronam**, Acidalius. 6. **vulgata,** MSS.; **vulgaria,** Orelli. 8. **quamquam quaedam serantur** is my emendation; **quamquam † alia diu serantur,** H.

7. 2. **in animo,** Freinsheim; **in aliquo,** Ritter. 3. **iuvenes vacuos et adulescentes,** Gudeman; **vacuos et adulescentes,** *b*.

8. 6. **ipsis,** MSS.; **ipsi,** Lipsius.

11. 2. **in Neronem,** *A B*; **in Nerone,** *C D E V*. 5. **cuiusque,** MSS.; **hucusque,** Lipsius. **tuetur,** Pichena; **tueor,** MSS.

13. 5. **non praestant,** Lipsius; **praestant,** MSS. **omni,** Walther; **canina,** H. 7. **relinquere quandoque fatalis meus dies veniet,** Nipperdey; **relinquere (quandoque enim fatalis et meus dies veniet),** H.

14. 3. **ardentior,** Baehrens; **audentior,** MSS. 4. **optimi temporum,** Muretus; **temporum,** MSS. 5. **quam in Apro,** MSS.; **quam damnari in Apro,** H.

15. 2. **atque id eo,** Lipsius; **parem antiquis,** H.

16. 9. **trecentos,** MSS.; **quadringentos,** Lipsius. 11. **iam,** Baehrens; **etiam,** Michaelis.

17. 4. **fatebatur,** *C E V* Δ; **fateretur,** *A B*. **Britanni et,** Baehrens; **Britanni,** Ernesti. 5. **et Caesarem quidem,** Meiser; **aeque idem et Caesarem,** Nissen. 6. **[nam . . . duravit],** Gudeman; without brackets, MSS.

19. 1. **Cassium Severum, quem,** Michaelis; **qui usque ad Cassium . . . quem reum faciunt, quem,** MSS.

20. 2. **vitiatus,** Gudeman; **invitatus,** MSS.

21. 2. **Canutium aut Arrium vel Furnios et Toranios,** Nipperdey; **Canuti aut Atti . . . de Furnio et Toranio,** MSS. 13. **tragoediis,** MSS.; **in tragoediis,** Ritter.

22. 3. **senior iam,** most MSS.; **iam senior,** *A B*. 5. **paries est et,** Gudeman; **paries et,** MSS. 7. **obsoleta,** Gudeman; **olentia,** MSS.

23. 2. **fastidiunt et oderunt,** *B*; **fastidiunt [oderunt],** Heumann.

24. 4. **efficiat ratio temporum,** Baehrens; **effici ratio temporum collegerit,** MSS.

25. 3. **qua quasi cominus nisus,** Joh. Müller; **si † cominus,** H. 6. **nervosior,** Meiser; **numerosior,** MSS. 7. **praeferunt,** Acidalius; **prae se ferunt,** Andresen.

28. 6. **aut eligebatur,** Meiser; **eligebatur autem,** MSS.

29. 2. **virides statim et teneri,** Gudeman; **teneri statim et rudes,** H. **[et sui alienique contemptus]**: bracketed by Gudeman.

30. 3. **referam,** MSS.; **prius referam,** Acidalius.

32. 5. **suae civitatis,** Gudeman; **civitatis,** MSS. 9. **ex . . . officinis, ex . . . spatiis,** Gudeman; **officinis, spatiis,** Haase.

34. 8. **hodieque,** *C D E V*; **hodie quoque,** *A B*.

35. 2. **adferat,** Gudeman; **adferant,** MSS. 3. **intrat,** MSS.; **intret,** Nipperdey.

38. 1. **exsistit** is my conjecture; **exstiterit,** Walther. **modum in dicendo,** Gudeman; **modum dicendi,** Puteolanus. 4. **omnia depacaverat,** *A B*; **omnia alia pacaverat,** *C D V*.

39. 1. **rideatur,** *C D E V*; **ridear,** *A B*.

40. 1. **pronis auribus,** Wolff; **auribus,** MSS. 2. **sine severitate,** Pithou; **sine veritate,** Steiner.

41. 7. **tempora vestra,** Haase; **[vestra] tempora,** H.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

INDEX TO THE NOTES.[1]

[1] For further references on points of syntax and style see Introduction, pp. xix-xxiii.

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